BIOGRAPHIA NAUTICA;

OR,

MEMOIRS

OF THOSE

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN,

TO WHOSE

INTREPIDITY AND CONDUCT

THE

ENGLISH ARE INDEBTED,

FOR

The VICTORIES of their FLEETS, the INCREASE of their DOMINIONS, the EXTENSION of their COMMERCE,

AND THEIR

PRE-EMINENCE ON THE OCEAN.

INTERSPERSED WITH

The most material Circumstances of NAVAL HISTORY, from the NORMAN INVASION to the Year 1779.

Embellished with COPPER-PLATES.

By DR. J. CAMPBELL, and JOHN KENT, ESQ.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

ENGLAND IS A LAND WHICH CAN NEVER BE CONQUERED WHILST THE KINGS THEREOF KEEP THE DOMINION OF THE SEAS.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

TO THE

PUBLIC.

THE Hiſtorian who endeavours to record the ſplendid Succeſſes, and the commercial Diſcoveries of the Naval Armaments of *England*, is not under the leaſt Neceſſity of expatiating on the obvious Uſe and Conſequence of his Writings. The intrepid Patriotiſm, the unremitting Zeal, and the attentive Policy of Thoſe who have at once maintained the Glory of our Flag, and the Freedom of our Trade, are Points which muſt be intereſting to every Lover of his Country. I will not do the Reader ſo much Injuſtice as to ſuppoſe that any Arguments can be requiſite to allure his Attention towards Subjects which ſo forcibly demand it. Should He properly feel his own Weight as a Member of the Community, He will be pleaſed to countenance a Detail of Facts glowing with the Public Virtue of his

Fellow-Britons. To theſe gallant Individuals He will turn with a redoubled Veneration, when He reflects that the Foundations of the firmeſt Pillars which, for a long Series of Years, have ſupported the magnificent Fabric of our National Importance, were laid (if the Expreſſion be allowable) in the Ocean.

Yet, however needleſs it may be to dwell on the Utility of the Work, I am bound to inform the Public of thoſe Materials which will aſſiſt me in the Proſecution of it.

The valuable Productions which have hitherto appeared on this Subject, have not eſcaped my Notice, and will, at every proper Opportunity, engroſs my farther Attention. I ſhall often follow (perhaps, with unequal Steps,) the accurate and diſcerning Mr. *Campbell*; on many occaſions I muſt quit his Path, and, at laſt, proceed beyond the Point at which He reſted: In either Caſe, I hope my Progreſs will at leaſt be entertaining, if not inſtructive to Thoſe who may accompany me. The Gentleman whom I have named is almoſt the laſt, and, confeſſedly, the beſt Author who hath written diffuſely on this Matter. He muſt be conſidered as a judicious Collector of the chief Varieties of Naval Hiſtory into one View, and as a meritorious Candidate for that literary Honour which it would be the higheſt Injuſtice not to allow him, in this Place.

The

The Compliments which I have paid him are not retracted by the Obſervation that, like ſeveral of the beſt Writers of the Age, he hath erred in ſome important Particulars, and omitted others of equal Conſequence. I ſhall attempt to correct the firſt, and introduce the laſt. In this, however, I make no Claims to Commendation. The ſole Advantages in my Favour reſult from my having the Opportunity of examining, at a later Period, thoſe numerous and reſpectable Authorities, to which Mr. *Campbell* was a Stranger. Five and twenty Years are elapſed ſince the Appearance of his Work. During this Space of Time, ſuch Materials relating to my Subject (although blended with other Points,) have continually ſtarted up, that I may venture to affirm, that the Aſſiſtance which I receive from *Him* will be at leaſt equalled by that which I ſhall obtain from *Others*. Let not this be imputed either to Vanity, or Detraction. I ſtand at the Bar of the Public, not diſreſpectfully preſumptuous, but in that humble Hope which always is accompanied by Fears; and I diſdain the Thought of tearing a ſingle Laurel from the Brow of Him who beſt deſerves it.

Were I to mention the other Writers whom I ſhall occaſionally conſult, I ſhould treſpaſs upon the Patience of the Reader. Be it ſufficient to remark, that I have availed myſelf of

foreign and of domeſtic Hiſtorians; of Predeceſſors, and of Contemporaries.

Excluſive of the Materials which are in my own Poſſeſſion, I have had acceſs to Public, and to Private Libraries. Amidſt theſe, I fortunately obtained Reſources from Letters, Journals, ſcarce Memoirs, Manuſcripts, and State Papers. Such Advantages alone were ſufficient to animate me in my Enterprize: But my Ardour is augmented by the Certainty that ſome Families, to whom I have the Honour to be allied, will obligingly furniſh me with Intelligence relating to thoſe amongſt their Anceſtors, who ſerved their Country on the Seas.

In the Courſe of this Work it will appear that I have blended with the Biography of our Naval Heroes all intereſting Points of Hiſtory, with which they are even diſtantly connected; yet I have gone no farther: Every Material capable of giving Light to the Subject is brought forward; and, not to tire the Reader, rejected from the Moment that it ceaſes to illuſtrate.

I have alſo taken Care that the Introduction of Facts ſhould be preceded by a cool Compariſon of their different Relations: As far as my humble Judgment led me, I have thrown aſide whatſoever was the leaſt doubtful, and adopted nothing which did not bear the Stamp of Authenticity. I have endeavoured to expoſe the

Falſi-

Falſities which have too long been ſanctified by inattentive Confidence, and to produce the Truth emancipated from arbitrary Influence, Paſſions, Prejudice, and Private Intereſt.

I feel a Pleaſure in acquainting the Reader that, through an impartial Progreſs, He will perceive that I am more frequently the warm Encomiaſt, than the rigid Cenſor. It is highly to the Credit of our Countrymen, that the Annals of our Naval Hiſtory are only ſlightly ſtained with worthleſs Characters. To mark them is a painful but a neceſſary Office: And, here, I will not treſpaſs on the ſacred Bounds of Truth, nor meanly ſhun the Road to which ſhe may direct me. The juſt, and ſpirited Example of the Roman Writer ſhall be always in my View: Like Him, I cannot dare to circulate a Falſity, nor do I dread a ſingle Conſequence which may ariſe from the Recital of a ſtubborn Fact: "*Ne quid falſi dicere audeam, ne quid veri* "*non audeam.*" I am conſcious that theſe Duties of an Hiſtorian, from which no Motives ſhall withdraw me, will call upon me for Remarks unpleaſing to ſome exalted Individuals who are now alive; neither am I ſenſible that the great Law of Humanity, by which we are forbidden to diſturb the Aſhes of the Dead, is to be maintained inviolable in every Caſe. The beſt Apology for the Freedom of Inquiry may

be drawn from the Imperfection of our Nature, which too clearly convinces us, that the Apprehenſion of Public Reproach, is one of the chief Incitements to Public Virtue.

THE

THE INTRODUCTION.

AS ſome learned Antiquarians (*a*) have unqueſtionably eſtabliſhed the Authenticity of the *Britiſh* Hiſtory, tranſlated by *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, we may venture to fix the Infancy of our Naval Power at a Period prior to the Expedition of *Julius Cæſar*. It is needleſs to remark that the firſt Settlers who came hither, could neither be deſtitute of a Marine, nor Strangers to its Oeconomy. Their inſular Advantages muſt alſo have induced them to increaſe their little Fleets, and to improve their Knowledge of Matters which related to them. By aiming at Security, they muſt have acquired Power; and this Power, although not formidable enough to maintain an uncontroulable Superiority on their neighbouring Seas, might, at Times, have led them on to Victory, or augmented

(*a*) See the Preface to Geoffrey of Monmouth, by Thompſon.—"Hiſtoriæ Britannicæ Defenſio," by Sir John Priſe; 4to. Lond. 1573—The Epiſtle de Britannicâ Hiſtoriâ rectè intelligendâ, by Doctor Powel.—And the Preface to the Britiſh Lexicon, by Doctor Davies.

augmented the Difficulty of defeating them. The Diſcovery (*b*) on a Mountain of *Britain*, of the Main-maſt of the large Ship conſtructed by *Hiero*, is a Point which hath been much inſiſted upon, as a Proof of the Naval, and Commercial Importance of our earlieſt Anceſtors. To dwell upon this, is, however, unneceſſary, as an indefatigable Inquirer hath proved (*c*), from the Commentaries of *Julius Cæſar*, that the Maritime Equipments of the ancient *Britons* were far from being inconſiderable. Theſe, it is imagined, were either much diſabled, or deſtroyed, when they engaged on the ſide of the Fleet belonging to the *Veneti*.

The naval Expedition of *Brito*, or *Brute* (*d*), who eſtabliſhed a Colony in this Iſland, is the firſt upon Record. *Gyraldus Cambrenſis*, (Biſhop Elect of *Saint Davids*', about the year 1200) an Author ſo often quoted, and referred to by Mr. *Camden*, as of indiſputable Credit, hath mentioned this Particular (*e*), availing himſelf of the Authority of the *Saxon* Writers. The Story of *Belinus*, who is, by ſome Authors, ſuppoſed to have invaded *Italy*, and returned victorious to his Kingdom of *Britain*, is ſo vaguely told, and ſo weakly ſupported by Probabilities, that We may venture to reject it as a Fiction.

The *Roman* Writers (*f*) inform us, that the Veſſels of the *Britons* were meanly conſtructed with Wicker, over

(*b*) Athenæi Deipnoſophiſt.
(*c*) Selden : Mare Clauſum. l. 2. c. 2.
(*d*) A. A. C. 1195.
(*e*) Cambriæ Deſcript. c. 7. apud Camden. Angl. Norman. &c.
(*f*) Cæſar de Bello Civil. lib. 1. cap. 54.—Solin. Polyhiſt. cap. 35.—Lucan. Pharſal. lib. 4.

over which they threw a Covering of Hides; and add, that their Commanders, ſenſible of their Inability to grapple with the Enemy, had never even given Orders to attempt it. Notwithſtanding this Account, there is Reaſon to believe that the Fleets with which the *Britons* aſſiſted the *Gauls* were well built, and powerfully equipped; and that theſe leathern Veſſels were for the Purpoſe of fiſhing on their own Coaſts, as to this they were afterwards applied by the *Romans*. If it be true that the *Britons* had no Ships of Force at this Period, we muſt impute it, not to their having been previouſly deſtitute of them from an Ignorance how to conſtruct them (*g*), but to the irreparable Loſſes which they ſuffered in common with their Allies, the *Veneti*.

In the Relation of the next Circumſtances which fall within the Province of a Naval Hiſtory, ſome Notice muſt be taken of *Caius Carauſius*. He was by Birth a *Menapian*, ignobly deſcended, and meanly educated. A natural Intrepidity, which he had frequently exerted in the Naval Service of the *Romans* recommended him to *Maximian*, who then reigned over the Weſtern Parts of the Empire. The Seas were, at this Period, much infeſted by Pirates, and a Fleet being fitted out in order to deſtroy them, *Carauſius* (*h*) was choſen

(*g*) Selden.—Hiſtoire du Commerce, et de la Navigation des Anciens, p. 202, See alſo Strutt's Compleat View of the Manners, Cuſtoms, &c. &c. of the Inhabitants of England, &c. Vol. I. p. 6.—Of this elaborate Performance, I ſhall frequently avail myſelf in the Courſe of the following Memoirs. I am not, by a Multitude, the only Reader who will gather Inſtruction, and Amuſement from the Reſearches of this unwearied Antiquary. To ſuch Characters a Tribute of Reſpect is due. Without them, the Page of Hiſtory could not have been ſo much enlightened as it is.

(*h*) A. D. 288.

choſen to command it. Not to inquire whether the Inſinuation that he proved treacherous to his Employer, neglecting to take them until they became rich by their Depredations, and then ſeizing on, and converting their Ships, and Cargoes, to his own uſe, be juſtly founded, I ſhall only obſerve, that *Maximian*, by endeavouring to have him privately aſſaſſinated, either ſuggeſted to him, or confirmed him in the Reſolution of aſpiring to the Sovereignty of *Britain*. The Steps which led to the Execution of his Project were the more eaſy, and rapid, as the Policy of his Conduct, and the engaging Gentleneſs of his Manners, had made him at once the Favourite of the Soldiers, and of the Sailors. The Majority of theſe ſo effectually ſeconded his Reſiſtance to the Oppoſition from *Maximian*, that this Prince was driven to the Neceſſity of acknowledging him Emperor in *Britain* (*i*).

It would be difficult to advance a better Proof of the Importance of our Marine, at this remote Æra, than the Inability of the *Romans* to defeat the Meaſures of *Carauſius*. It could have availed but little that the *Britons* were inclined to receive him as their King, if the ſtrong Squad ron with which he croſſed over to their Iſland, had not reduced *Maximian* to a Submiſſion but ill agreeing with his Deſire of Revenge.

Carauſius, convinced that the ſureſt Means of acquiring Independency, and Power, would reſult from the Augmentation of his Navy, was unremittingly attentive to all the Points which were the moſt likely to pro-

(*i*) This is apparent from the Coins of Carauſius, ſome of which ſtill exiſt. They repreſent, on one Side, his Head, with this Inſcription: IMP. CARAUSIUS, P. F. AUG. and on the other Side, the two Emperors, joining Hands, in alluſion to this Agreement.

promote it. His Subjects, to whom he had endeared himſelf by the Mildneſs with which he governed, beheld with Pleaſure a Syſtem of Operations ſo evidently calculated to render the Kingdom equally reſpectable and ſecure. They ſeemed to feel a Preſage of their future conſequence, whilſt their Sovereign gave orders for the fortifying of their Coaſts, and entered into an Alliance with the *Franks*, and other formidable Nations, ſeated on the *Thracian Boſphorus*. In one Article of the Treaty, it was ſtipulated that they ſhould ſend a powerful Fleet into the *Mediterranean*, which, ſailing through the Streights of *Gibraltar*, ſhould join his Ships in the *Britiſh* Ocean, and, together, attack the *Romans*.

Conſtantius, and *Maximian* were not idle Spectators of ſo alarming a Confederacy. They loſt no Time in recruiting their Troops, and manning their Navy. With the firſt, *Conſtantius* marched, and laid Siege to *Bouloigne*, from whence *Carauſius*, having, with a ſmall Number of intrepid Followers, forced his Paſſage through the Camp of the Enemy, embarked, and ſoon afterwards landed in *Britain*. With the laſt, conſiſting of a thouſand Sail, equipped from the Magazines on the *Rhine*, *Maximian* proceeded to the Aſſiſtance of his Partner. Whilſt *Carauſius* was engaged in fitting out his Ships, his Harbours were blocked up by a numerous Squadron under the Command of *Conſtantius*; and the reſt of the *Roman* Fleet paſſing through the Streights of *Gibraltar*, came up with, and engaged the *Franks*, over whom (if the teſtimony of an ancient Author (*k*) can be relied on) they obtained ſo abſolute a Victory, that not a ſingle Individual remained alive.

The brave Ardour of *Carauſius* was not to be extinguiſhed by Misfortune. He redoubled his Perſeverance in

(*k*) Eutrop. lib. 9.

in the Preparation of his Naval Armaments, and had nearly brought it to a Completion, when *Allectus*, an Officer of exalted Rank in his Service, and his moſt intimate Companion, deprived him treacherouſly of his Life. This Aſſaſſin ſeized upon his Crown (*l*), too contemptible an Object to juſtify the Violation of all the Ties of Loyalty and Friendſhip.

Allectus, without any of the Abilities of his Predeceſſor, contrived to maintain a conſiderable Force, as well by Land, as by Sea. He ravaged the Coaſts of *Gaul*, and obſtructed the Commerce of the *Romans*. *Conſtantius*, although burning with Reſentment at his Depredations, was ſo prudent as to evade an Action with a Fleet from the Superiority of which he had every thing to dread: But, in Proceſs of Time, having increaſed the Number of his Ships, he ſtood out to Sea, and ſteered his courſe towards *Britain*. *Allectus*, whoſe Navy was then lying at the Iſle of *Wight*, ſailed, on the firſt Notice of this Expedition, in Purſuit of the *Romans*, who, availing themſelves of a thick Fog, paſſed by, and afterwards landed in his Dominions. *Conſtantius* gave Orders for the burning of his own Fleet, that his Soldiers, ſenſible of the Impoſſibility of eſcaping, if defeated, might the more obſtinately diſpute the Victory, with their Enemies. *Allectus*, on his return to *Britain* (*m*), haſtily drew together an Army unequal in Point of Diſcipline to the Veterans with whom they were to engage, and feeling too inſurmountable an Averſion from their Chief, to riſque their Lives in his Defence. Under theſe circumſtances, it is no wonder that they became an eaſy Conqueſt to the *Romans*. *Allectus*, urged on by Temerity, and Deſpair,

(*l*) A. D. 294.
(*m*) Eutrop.

Deſpair, without waiting for the Arrival of the main Body of his Troops, oppoſed himſelf to *Aſclepiodotus*, (who commanded a Party of the Enemy,) and in a terrible Conflict, was ſlain (*n*).

After this Epoch, the *Romans*, convinced that the moſt irreſiſtible Part of their Power muſt reſult from the Superiority of their Marine, were aſſiduous in building Ships, and eſtabliſhing Garriſons, at the beſt Seaports. Amongſt theſe were reckoned *Othona*, or *Haſtings*, in *Suſſex*; *Dubris*, or *Dover*, *Lemmanis*, or *Hythe*, in *Kent*; *Regulbium*, or *Reculver*; *Rittupis*, or *Rittupæ*, *Richborough*; *Anderia*, *Newenden*, all in the ſame County; *Branodunum*, *Brancheſter*, in *Norfolk*, and near to the Waſhes; *Gariannonum*, *Yarmouth*; and the Port of the *Adurni*, now *Alkrington*, or *Edrington*, not far from *Shoreham*, in *Suſſex* (*o*).

When the Power of the *Roman* Empire was verging to its Decline, the Care of the Navy of *Britain* became entirely neglected. The Ships were ſuffered to rot in the Harbours, and every Invader found the Ports unable to reſiſt him. At length (*p*) *Offa*, the eleventh King of the *Mercians*, introduced a very conſiderable Marine Eſtabliſhment; a Circumſtance which not only ſecured to him the Friendſhip and Alliance of *Charlemagne* (*q*), but rendered him ſo ſuperior to the rival States, that none of them, during a Space of nine Years, were ſucceſsful in their Invaſions. We next perceive *Ecgbright*, King of the *Weſt Saxons*, fitting out, on his Acceſſion to the Throne of *England*, a for-

(*n*) A. D. 296.—Aurel. Victor. in Cæſarib.—Eutrop.—Eumen. Paneg. Conſtant. Cæſar.

(*o*) Selden. Mare Clauſum. l. 2. c. 6, 7.

(*p*) 755. Chron. Sax. p. 59.

(*q*) Gulielm. Malmeſb. l. 1. c. 5.

formidable Navy, with which he gained a ſignal Victory over a *Daniſh* Squadron, conſiſting of thirty-five Ships, near *Charnock* in *Dorſetſhire*. *Ethelſtan*, whilſt his Father was yet living, commanded a ſtrong Fleet, and, in an obſtinate Engagement, took nine of the *Daniſh* Ships, and compelled the reſt to withdraw from the Coaſt. Yet, ſhortly afterwards, the *Danes* appeared before it, with a Squadron of three hundred and fifty ſail, and diſembarking with their Troops, firſt ſeized on *Cauterbury*, then took Poſſeſſion of other Places, and, at laſt, became Maſters of *London* (*r*). From this Æra, until the Reign of *Alfred* the Great, we are not furniſhed, by any abſolute authentic Records, with material Inſtances of an Attention to the Sea-ſervice. This politic Prince fitted out a large and formidable Fleet (*s*), in the Manning of which he ſelected thoſe of his Subjects who, by his Orders, had been previouſly inſtructed in the Art of Navigation, and the Practice of Engaging. His armed Veſſels, properly ſtationed round the Iſland, ſo vigorouſly attacked the *Danes*, that their Fleets were totally deſtroyed. The Pirates, alarmed at the Appearance of an hundred and twenty Ships, guarding the *Britiſh* Coaſt, were too prudent to riſk an Action, in which it was probable that Victory would declare againſt them. They did not even venture, after the firſt Intelligence which they had received, within Sight of the Force waiting to defeat them. At length (*t*), *Haſtings*, the *Daniſh* Chief, appeared off the Coaſt of *Kent*, with a Fleet of three hundred and thirty Sail. The greater Part of the Enemy, diſembarking in the *Rother*, took Poſſeſſion of the Fort of *Apuldore*. *Haſtings*,

(*r*) Chron. Sax. A. D. 851.
(*s*) Aſſer. p. 9.—M. Weſt. p. 179.
(*t*) 893.

tings, with a Squadron of eighty Ships, entered the *Thames*, and fortifying *Milton* in *Kent*, from thence marched his Soldiers into the Heart of the Country, and rifled the inhabitants. Their ſtraggling Parties were ſoon cut off by ſome Troops under the Command of *Alfred*, and their remaining Forces were, in the End, obliged to make a precipitate Retreat on board their Ships (*u*). The Recital of a Land Engagement may ſeem foreign to my Subject; neither ſhould I have introduced it, if it had not naturally led to a Naval Tranſaction. The *Eaſt-Anglian Danes*, and the *Northumbrians*, perceiving themſelves (by the deaths of *Guthrum*, Prince of the former, and *Guthred*, who had been appointed by *Alfred*, Governor over the latter,) at looſe from all Authority, and animated by the Sight of ſo numerous an Army of their Countrymen, revolted againſt their Sovereign, and embarking on board two hundred and forty Veſſels, landed ſhortly afterwards at *Exeter*. Thither *Alfred*, at the Head of a choſen Band of Troops, immediately marched (*x*), attacked the Rebels on a ſudden, and, with a great Slaughter, purſued thoſe who eſcaped the Sword to their Ships, in which they ſailed towards the Coaſt of *Suſſex*, and, arriving at *Chicheſter*, plundered all the neighbouring Country. Here it is that we trace another Naval Victory; the Inſurgents were again repulſed; many of them fell in the Battle; moſt of their Ships were taken; and the few who ſurvived the Action ſtood off, with the ſhattered Remains of their Fleet, to Sea, nor ever ventured to engage in any other Enterprize.

When we conſider the naval Skill of *Alfred*, we cannot be ſurprized at his having triumphed ſo frequently

(*u*) Aſſer. p. 19.—Chron. Sax. p. 93.
(*x*) Chron. Sax. p. 93.

on the Ocean. His Ships were conſtructed by his own Direction: large, ſtrong, ſwift, excellently manned, ſtored with Ammunition, and plentifully furniſhed with all neceſſary Proviſions, they bore away with eaſe the Victory from the Veſſels of the Enemy, which had been fitted out with the Precipitation that diverts the Attention from the material Points of Equipment, and ſerves rather to haſten a Defeat, than to ſupport a Reſiſtance. Each of the Ships belonging to *Alfred* held ſixty (*y*) Rowers, and was, in all Reſpects whatſoever, twice as well accommodated as thoſe which were, at that Time, built by the neighbouring Powers. It may not, however, be ſtrictly proper to ſtile them Ships, as, in fact, they were Gallies, and not unlike thoſe at preſent navigated with Oars in the *Mediterranean*. They could with much facility, as they drew but little Water, make a Deſcent upon the Coaſts, or run up into Creeks; and by their Oars they had an Advantage over the Enemy in light Winds, or Calms. As being higher, longer, and ſwifter than the Veſſels of other Nations, they were particularly ſerviceable; by the Force reſulting from the two firſt Reſpects, they generally ſucceeded in grappling with a ſuperior Number of their Adverſaries, and on the laſt Account, they could bear away, as often as it appeared neceſſary.

The firſt Deſtination of nine of theſe Gallies was towards the Iſle of *Wight*, and the Coaſts of *Devonſhire*, at that Time harraſſed by Free-booters, under the Command of *Sigefert*, a *Northumbrian* (*z*). The Inſtructions given by *Alfred* were, that his Fleet ſhould endea-

(*y*) Some held more than ſixty Rowers.

(*z*) Hen. Huntingd. Hiſt. int. ſcript. poſt Bedam. p. 350, 351.—Rog. Hoveden. p. 420, 421.—Chron. Saxon. p. 98.—Chron. Joan. Brompton int. 10 hiſtor. ad A. D. 897.

endeavour to preſerve their Station between the Enemy, and the Shore, as he ſuſpected that theſe Invaders would, if likely to be defeated, attempt to quit their Veſſels, and ſeek a Shelter in the Woods. The Execution of his Orders was fruſtrated by the Conduct of the Pirates, who ran three of their Ships aground: the remaining three ſtood out to Sea, and reſolutely engaged the *Engliſh* Fleet; a fatal Temerity, as two were taken, and every Man ſlain; the other, having loſt all the Crew in the Attack, except five, eſcaped with difficulty. The Royal Squadron then came to an Action with the three Ships which had run aſhore, and killed ſeveral of their Men. At the Return of the Tide, the Enemy put off to Sea, but in ſo ſhattered and leaky a Condition, that they could ſcarcely reach the Coaſt of the *South Saxons*, or *Suſſex*, where the Crew of two of the Veſſels diſembarked, and tried to ſave themſelves by flight; the third Veſſel, although moſt of the Hands on board were much wounded, had the good fortune to eſcape: the Fugitives who lurked in the Woods were ſoon afterwards apprehended, and conducted to *Wincheſter*, where, being tried, they were all found guilty, and immediately executed. On the Southern Coaſt alone, ſuch were the Succeſſes of the *Engliſh* Navy that, in the Compaſs of the Year (*a*), twenty Ships belonging to the Enemy were taken, and all the Men on board ſlaughtered.

Alfred, who well knew that the nobleſt Purpoſes of a Fleet are not confined merely to War, and Victory, when no longer moleſted by Invaders, turned his thoughts towards the Extenſion of Commerce, and the Diſcovery of remoter Countries. We learn from an account (*b*),

 written

(*a*) 897.

(*b*) Copy of the Saxon verſion of Oroſius, extant amongſt the Manuſcripts of Junius in the Bodleian Library. This (as

written by this King, that *Ohther*, a native of *Halgoland* (*c*), rich, ſkilled in Navigation, and much converſant with the Northern Trade, had, by his Order, made a Voyage to the Coaſts of *Norway* and *Lapland*. On his Return, he delivered to *Alfred* an exact Relation of the natural Productions of that Country, the Manners of the Inhabitants, and the Mode of conducting the Whale-fiſhery; preſenting him, at the ſame Time, with ſome Teeth of the Horſe-whale, Commodities then in higher Eſtimation amongſt the *Engliſh*, than Ivory. *Alfred* ſoon afterwards ſent *Wulfſtan*, one of his Subjects, to thoſe Parts, whoſe Deſcription of them agreed perfectly with that given by *Ohther*. Theſe Adventurers will appear intitled to no little Share of Credit, if we examine the entire Conformity of their Narratives to a Work, on the ſame Subject, compoſed by *Olaus Magnus* (*d*), and publiſhed about the Middle of the ſixteenth Century; but our Admiration of their Exactneſs, Perſpicuity, and ſtrict Adherence to the Truth, will be redoubled, when we diſcover, as we certainly may, that they do not differ, in any material Particular, from the moſt reſpectable Authorities of the laſt and preſent Age, relative to theſe Countries.

About this Period, *Alfred* embraced the Opportunity of throwing a brighter Luſtre over the Arts of Commerce, by making them ſubſervient to the Purpoſes of Benevolence. The Chriſtians of *Saint Thomas*, inhabiting the Peninſula of *India*, being ſeverely diſtreſſed, *Sigel-*

(as a noble Author juſtly obſerves,) is one of the moſt curious, and valuable remains of our Saxon Antiquities—Appendix to the Latin Tranſlation of Spelman's Life of Alfred, publiſhed by Walker.

(*c*) 66° north latitude.

(*d*) Hiſtoria de Gentibus Septentrionalibus. Romæ 1555. folio. See alſo the Engliſh Tranſlation, in 1658.

Sigelmus, or *Suithelm*, a Prieſt, was ſent to their Relief. His Orders were to bring, on his Return, ſuch valuable Articles as he could honourably procure. The Succeſs of the Voyage exceeded his moſt ſanguine Hopes. He delivered to *Alfred* an immenſe Treaſure, conſiſting of Precious Stones, rich Bales of Goods, Perfumes, and various Curioſities. Many of theſe were immediately preſented to foreign Powers, and the Importer of them rewarded with the Biſhopric of *Sherburn*, in the Cathedral of which he depoſited ſome ſplendid Acquiſitions from *India*, to ſerve as future Teſtimonies of his Expedition (*e*).

The next Circumſtances of our Naval Hiſtory may be traced in the Preparation of a formidable Squadron, conſiſting of an hundred Sail, fitted out by *Edward*, the Son and Succeſſor of *Alfred*, and ſtationed near the coaſt of *Kent*, to intercept, and attack the Northern Pirates. In the Action which followed, ſeveral of the Ships belonging to the Enemy were driven on Shore. And here enſued a bloody Conteſt for the Victory; each Party diſembarked, and drawing up in Order of Battle, fought, for ſome Time, with equal Advantage; at length, the forces of *Edward*, although much diminiſhed by a dreadful Carnage, entirely defeated the Invaders, and left moſt of their chief Captains dead upon the Spot.

Athelſtan, who aſcended the Throne (*f*) at the deceaſe of his Father, *Edward* the Elder, maintained a powerful Fleet, with a grand Diviſion of which he laid waſte the Coaſts of *Scotland*, to revenge himſelf on *Conſtantine*, who rather than violate the Laws of Hoſpitality,

(*e*) Gul. Malmeſbur. de geſtis pontific. Anglorum p. 247, 248.

(*f*) A. D. 925.

by perfidiouſly delivering up *Godfrid*, his Gueſt, adviſed him to eſcape. We are informed that *Conſtantine*, reduced to Submiſſion, paid Homage to *Athelſtan* for his Kingdom (*g*). This Circumſtance is not improbable; but we may doubt the Authenticity of an Addition to the Narrative, which aſcribes to the *Saxon* Prince an Obſervation, glowing with more true Heroiſm than could be expected from One who turned his Arms againſt a neighbouring State, merely becauſe the Head of it diſdained to be a Traitor. It is recorded that *Athelſtan*, preſſed by his Attendants to purſue his Advantage over *Conſtantine*, and ſeize upon *Scotland*, replied, "*There* "*is more Glory in beſtowing than in conquering King-*"*doms* (*h*)." I hope the Reader will pardon me for having made a ſhort Digreſſion, although it be foreign to the Purpoſe, to remark that a Monarch either did utter, or ſhould have uttered ſuch a Sentiment.

To return to my Subject: We do not find any particular Mention of the *Engliſh* Navy, from the laſt Period, until the obſtinately conteſted Engagement between the Fleet of *Athelſtan*, and the united Squadrons of the *Scots* and *Danes* (*i*). The King gained a complete Victory, both by Sea and Land, five Princes, and ſeven *Daniſh* Chiefs periſhing in the Action. Henceforward the Reign of *Athelſtan* continued unmoleſted, and he found himſelf at leiſure, amidſt his Attention to Public Affairs, to adminiſter a ſtrenuous Support to the Intereſts of Commerce: Of this we have an Example, diſcovering a Degree of Policy and Refinement which ſcarcely could have been expected in ſo dark an Age. He enacted that a Merchant, making three

(*g*) Hoveden. p. 422.
(*h*) W. Malmeſb. l. 2. c. 6.—Anglia Sacra. V. 1. p. 212.
(*i*) A. D. 938.

three Voyages beyond the *Britiſh* Channel, or the Narrow Seas, on his own Account, ſhould be raiſed to the Dignity of a Thane, or a Gentleman (*). It would with Difficulty be imagined, that the Cuſtoms of the eighteenth Century could ſuffer by a Compariſon with the Manners of the tenth; and yet the Subjects of a Nation which prides itſelf in being more poliſhed than the reſt of *Europe*, are, in this Reſpect, leſs liberal than *Athelſtan*, who diſdained the ridiculous Idea, that Trade was a Blot upon Nobility.

Edgar, who ſucceeded (*k*) his brother *Edwy*, and who manifeſted ſo inconteſtible a Claim to the Veneration of his Subjects, and of Poſterity, was, through the Courſe of an illuſtrious Reign, unwearied in his Zeal for the Advancement of his Marine, and the Proſperity of his Commerce. Of the Number of his Ships, the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians have given widely different Accounts. Where ſhall we fix, when Computations ſo ill agree that we find them amounting to four Thouſand eight Hundred (*l*); or to four Thouſand (*m*); or to three Thouſand; or to three Thouſand ſix Hundred (*n*); or, only to three Hundred (*o*)? A Writer (*p*), whom I muſt

(*) Et ſi Mercator tamen ſit, qui ter trans altum Mare per facultates proprias abeat, Ille poſtea jure Thani ſit dignus. *Judicia Civitatis Lundoniæ, p.* 71.—*Wilkins Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ.*

(*k*) A. D. 957.

(*l*) Matthæus Florileg.

(*m*) Chron. Joan. Brompton. p. 869.

(*n*) Roger Hoveden. p. 426.

(*o*) W. Thorne.

(*p*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. I. p. 65. This Author hath paid too great Deference to the learned Selden, who makes the Navy of Edgar amount to the ſame Number *. A noble Writer †, who caſts the cleareſt Light upon

* Mare Clauſ. c. 10. † Lord Littleto

conſider as my moſt unerring Guide, in the Courſe of this Work, adopts an Idea that the Fleet of *Edgar* conſiſted of three Thouſand ſix Hundred Ships: but, with Submiſſion to his Judgment, we have Reaſon to imagine, according to the Opinion of a celebrated Hiſtorian (*q*), that, as the *Saxon* Chronicle obſerves that the Fleet of *Ethelred* was the greateſt which had ever been ſeen in *England*, and, as it muſt have been ſhort of a thouſand Ships; ſo the Number mentioned by *William Thorne* comes the neareſt to a faithful Liſt of the Ships belonging to *Edgar*. Be this as it may, the King ranged his Fleet into three equal Diviſions, one of which was ſtationed off the Eaſt, a ſecond off the Weſt, and a third off the North Coaſt of the Iſland. With this powerful Armament, a Terror to his Enemies, he annually made the Circuit of his Dominions. In the eaſtern Diviſion, he ſteered weſtward, cruizing on the *Channel*, and putting in at the different Creeks, and Bays, from the Mouth of the *Thames*, to the Land's End in *Cornwall*. In the weſtern Diviſion, he ſailed for the ſame Purpoſes, to the Northward, on the Coaſts of *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and the *Hebrides*; then coming up with the Northern Diviſion, he proceeded

upon every Subject which he inveſtigates, obſerves, that if theſe Ships had been built upon the ſame Model as thoſe of Alfred, the Number of Rowers aboard of them, allowing but one to each Oar, would have exceeded two hundred thouſand, beſides the Mariners that were neceſſary to manage the Sails, and the Soldiers for Battle. But ſuppoſing that three in four of them were of a much ſmaller Size, and carried no more than four and twenty Men each, which was the loweſt Complement of any that we read of in thoſe Days, the Number is ſtill greater than England, not united either with Scotland, or Wales, could poſſibly furniſh, to be kept, as it is ſaid theſe were, in conſtant Employment.

(*q*) Hume's Hiſtory of England. Vol. I. Note C.

ceeded in it to the Mouth of the *Thames* (*r*). Thus wiſely did he train the Seamen to a perpetual Practice of their ſeveral Duties, and ſo effectually eſtabliſh his Naval Superiority on the ſurrounding Ocean, that his Enemies, although they beheld its rapid Progreſs with a jealous Eye, were too diſpirited to attack him. As for the Pirates, who, until the Reign of *Edgar*, had proved the Peſts of almoſt every Sea, they were ſo violently intimidated, that not a ſingle one had the Reſolution, during a Period of ſixteen Years, to approach the Iſland. The *Danes*, alſo, who were then in *England*, repreſſed their natural Inclination to civil Tumults; nor hazarded an Inſurrection, the Conſequences of which, ſo firmly rooted was the Power of *Edgar*, would probably have cloſed with their total Extirpation (*s*).

The Naval Superiority of this Monarch was too boundleſs and exalted, to leave the tributary States the Power of refuſing it the moſt unconditional Submiſſion. So implicitly was it acknowledged, that if we can give Credit to our Hiſtorians (*t*), *Kenneth*, King of *Scotland*, *Malcolm*, King of *Cumberland*, *Maccuſius*, King of *Man*, and five petty Sovereigns of *Britain*, conſented to row *Edgar* in his Barge, along the River *Dee*, from *Cheſter*, to the Abbey of Saint *John* the Baptiſt, where they ſolemnly bound themſelves to remain his Vaſſals, and to engage, whenſoever it might be neceſſary, in the

(*r*) H. Huntingdon. Hiſt. l. 5.—Hoveden. Annal. p. 426. 427.—Alured. Beverlac. Annal. l. 8.

(*s*) It will ſcarcely leſſen our Idea of that almoſt perpetual domeſtic Tranquillity enjoyed by Edgar, when we obſerve that, during his Abſence in the North, the Britons ravaged the Weſt. On his Return, they were totally ſubdued—V. Ranulph. Higden. in Polychron. l. 6.

(*t*) W. Malmeſb. l. 2. c. 8.—Hoveden. p. 406.—H. Hunting. l. 5. p. 356.

the Defence of all his Rights, by Land, as well as on the Ocean. To the Supremacy ſo amply conceded to him by neighbouring Powers, he, on every Occaſion, renewed his Claim, introducing his Edicts with an Aſſertion that he was Lord of the ſurrounding Seas (*u*).

From the Death (*x*) of *Edgar*, the Declenſion of the Navy was ſo rapid, that, in a ſhort Proceſs of Time, no Force could be collected to oppoſe a Squadron of only ſeven *Daniſh* Ships, which appeared (*y*) in View of *Southampton*, and landing the Troops, at no great Diſtance from it, lay waiting their Return from the Commiſſion of the moſt mercileſs Depredations. In ſix Years afterwards, they arrived again, and, unmoleſted, gave a Looſe to the ſame Exceſſes. Allured by the Facility with which their Countrymen ranſacked the Weſtern Coaſts of *England*, the *Danes* meditated a third Invaſion, and collecting a powerful Fleet, ſailed towards the Borders of *Eſſex*, on which they made an uninterrupted Deſcent, carrying Fire and Sword throughout all the adjacent Provinces (*z*). They were bribed to quit the Iſland by the imprudent Payment of an ignominious Tribute (*a*), the natural Conſequence of which was a fourth *Daniſh* Invaſion, in the following Year, when the eaſtern Coaſt became a Scene of Slaughter, and Devaſtation; as if theſe fierce Aſſailants imagined that the Price of their Departure would riſe in Proportion to

(*u*) He ſtiles himſelf, in the Preamble of an Act paſſed in the fourteenth Year of his Reign, "*Edgarus, totius Albivonis* "*Baſileus, necnon maritimorum, ſeu inſulanorum regum circumha-* "*bitantium.*"—Gul. Malmeſb. de geſt. reg. Angl. l. 2. c. 8.

(*x*) A. D. 975.

(*y*) Chron. Sax. ad A. D. 981.

(*z*) A. D. 991.

(*a*) Amounting to ten thouſand Pounds: from this originated the Danegeld.

to the Barbarity of their Conduct (*b*). I dwell upon these Circumstances as, at length, rousing *Ethelred*, and his Council, from their hitherto disgraceful Inattention, they occasioned the Equipment of a Fleet sufficiently powerful to bear away the Victory from the *Danes* (*c*). Here, then, we trace another formidable Marine Establishment. The Plan of Action was great, and calculated to wipe out the Shame with which the Nation had been too justly branded. It imported nothing less than the total Destruction of the *Danish* Ships within their own Harbours. But what the Enemy could scarcely have prevented, was frustrated by the Conduct of a Traitor. *Alfric* Duke of *Mercia*, (whose Name should ever be pronounced with Execration,) for Reasons all equally unjustifiable, but needless to be enumerated here, deserted to the *Danes*, with the whole Squadron under his Command, the Night before the intended Action, and thus exposed his Country, a defenceless Prey, to these ferocious Robbers of the North (*d*).

Of the next Fleets which *Ethelred* fitted out we find but a reproachful Mention; it is remarkable that they either came too late to attack their Adversaries, or, were shamefully defeated. When the national Calamities (*e*) called aloud for the Establishment of a Naval Force, a Law was passed, to oblige each Proprietor of three hundred and ten Hydes of Land to furnish a Galley of three Rows of Oars, completely provided, for the Defence of the Coasts. In Consequence of this Mea-

(*b*) In this they were not mistaken: the Composition arose at last to forty-eight thousand Pounds; in that Age, a most enormous Sum.

(*c*) Chron. Sax. p. 126.

(*d*) Chron. Sax. p. 127.—Gul. Malmesb. p. 62.—Higden. p. 270.

(*e*) A. D. 1008. Chron. Sax.

Meaſure, the Number of Galleys amounted to ſeven hundred and eighty-five (*f*); yet ſuch was the Violence of Parties, and ſo bitter were the Animoſities with which the different Members of Adminiſtration ſtruggled to circumvent each other, that the Care of the Public Good was ſunk in the Contention, and the Naval Armaments became almoſt as uſeleſs as if they never had been eſtabliſhed. Nor was the Perfidy of *Alfric* without a Parallel: *Wolfnoth*, Governor of *Suſſex*, deſerted to the *Danes*, with a Squadron of twenty Sail. This was but the Prelude to Misfortune. A Fleet of eighty Ships, commanded by *Edric*, whoſe Inſtructions were to take *Wolfnoth*, was not only irreparably damaged in a Storm, but ſtranded on the Coaſt, where it was ſuddenly attacked by the very Enemy in Purſuit of whom it was ſent out, and totally deſtroyed. From this Æra, until the Reign of *Canute*, the *Engliſh* Ships continued to rot unnoticed in the Harbours.

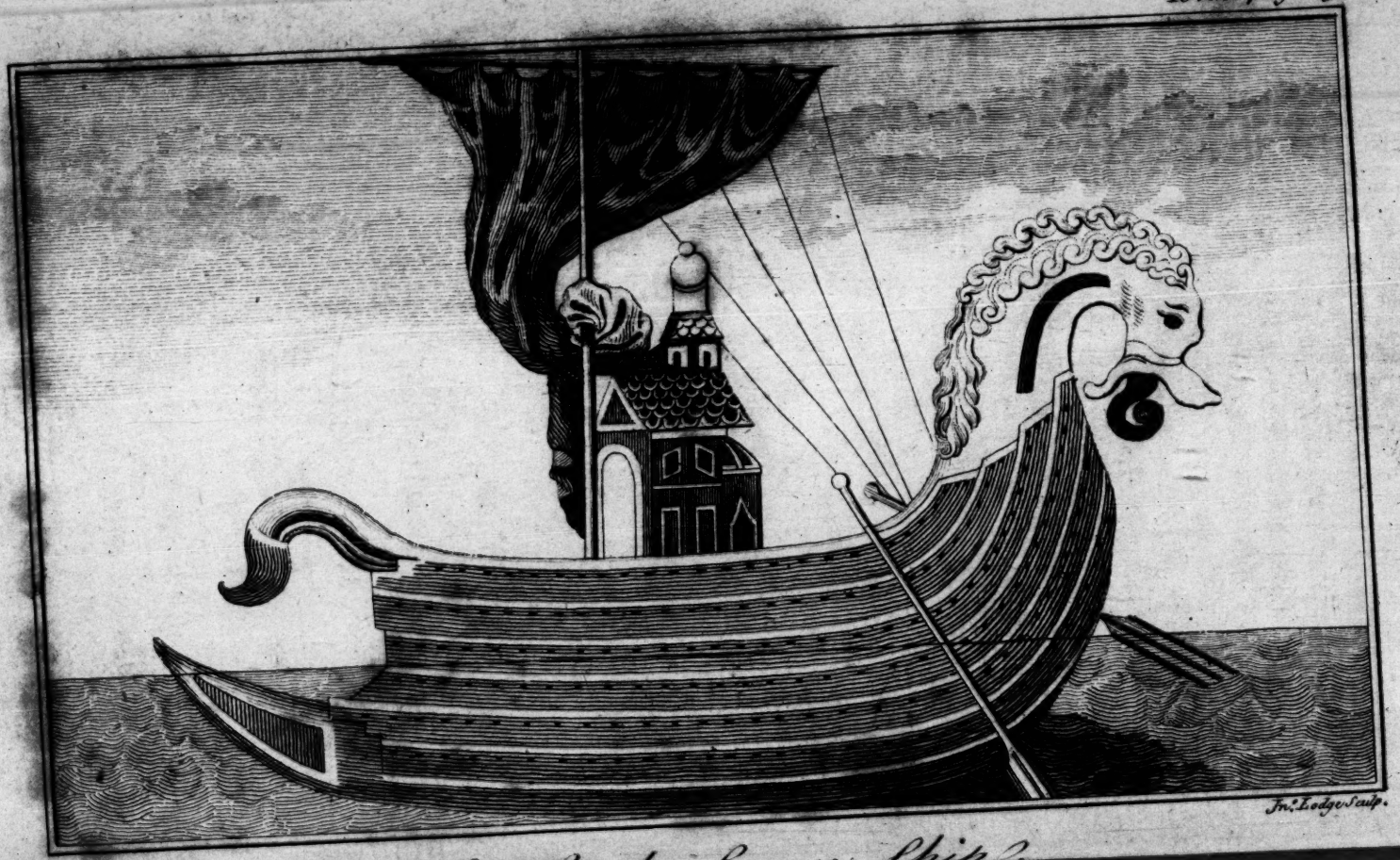
Before we enter upon the *Daniſh* Conqueſt under *Canute*, it may be proper to take ſome farther Notice of the Navy of the *Anglo-Saxons*. Their immediate Anceſtors, a ferocious Gang of Pirates, ſubſiſted chiefly by their Depredations on the Northern Coaſts. Their Veſſels are reported to have been built (as thoſe of the *Britons* were,) with light Frames of Wood, over which was ſtretched a Covering of Skins (*g*). With ſo inſignificant

(*f*) The Hydes in *England* were in Number two hundred and forty three Thouſand and ſix Hundred. Every eight Hydes were to find a Coat of Mail, and a Helmet. This Armour was worn by the Soldiers who were employed aboard the Fleet, as Marines.

(*g*) " Quin et *Aremoricus* piratam *Saxona* tractus
" Sperabat, cui pelle ſalum ſulcare *Britannum*
" Ludus, et aſſueto glaucum mare findere lembo."
Sidonius Apollinaris.

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Fr.ᵗ Lodge Sculp.

An Anglo Saxon Ship

ſignificant a Maritime Equipment, we are at a Loſs to account for the Succeſs attending their Invaſions. But as we have no tradition of their having built any large Ships of War, in that Age, the Reader muſt be left to his own Conjectures. The Authority of *Verſtegan* (*h*), who affirms that nine thouſand *Saxons* came to *England* in three long Veſſels, called *Keeles*, is too ridiculous to merit our attention.

Of the Naval Architecture of the *Anglo-Saxons* in its more improved State, ſome Judgment may be formed from the Deſcription of a Ship conſtructed (at a leſs early Period,) with Planks of Wood, and furniſhed with a whole Deck. At its Stern were two Bars which ſerved in the Place of a Rudder; on the Middle, and near to the Maſt, was erected a Cabbin, for the Reception of the Paſſengers; the Keel ran from the Stern, increaſing gradually in Breadth towards the Head, which as gradually decreaſed up to a Point, in order the more readily to cut the Water in the Ship's Courſe. When full laden, it became ſunk ſo low that the Head was almoſt entirely immerged in the Water. Over the Head was a Projection, intended, perhaps, either for the convenient Faſtening of the Rigging, or to hold the Anchor. In the Plate from which this Deſcription (*i*) is taken, the Sail is repreſented as being furled up, and therefore no clear Idea can be given of the mode of fixing, and working it whilſt the Ship was under Way; it ſhould ſeem that it was managed like the Sails of the *Normans*, which were of very little uſe, except when the Ship went before the Wind. No holes were made for

(*h*) Reſtitution of decayed Intelligence in Antiquities. p. 126.

(*i*) Strutt's Navigation of the Saxons. V. I. p. 42. plate 9. fig. 1.

for the Reception of Oars, and, therefore, the Veſſel here alluded to, was calculated only for Sailing.

It is almoſt needleſs to add, after a Deſcription of one of their Ships, that the *Saxons* had Boats, and other ſmall Craft. The Boats uſed at the Building of the Monaſtery of *Croyland* were called *Scaphis*. To the Barge in which *Edgar* was rowed up the River *Dee*, *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* applies the Name *Naviculum*.

In two Years after the Crown had been ſeized by *Canute* (*k*), he paid off the greater Part of his Fleet, exacting, for that Purpoſe, an enormous Subſidy, or *Danegeld*, amounting to eighty three thouſand Pounds, of which eleven thouſand Pounds were delivered in by the City of *London*. Forty Ships only were retained to guard the Coaſts, and the reſt ſailed back to *Denmark*. It appears that this Navy was ſoon augmented, at the Expence of his *Engliſh* Thanes, from the Account of his Expedition (*l*) to *Norway*, on the Coaſts of which he diſembarked a powerful Army from fifty five of his Veſſels, and returned victorious to *England*, in the following Year. Not long afterwards, he fitted out a Squadron againſt *Malcolm*, King of *Scotland*, who, reduced to Submiſſion, acknowledged himſelf his Vaſſal, and bound his Heirs to the ſame Fealty (*m*). A learned Antiquarian (*n*) hath collected indiſputable Teſtimonies, to prove that he maintained his Dominion on the Ocean, with a Degree of Firmneſs and Perſeverance, at no Æra exceeded, and but ſeldom equalled by his Predeceſſors (*o*). We

(*k*) A. D. 1019. Chron. Sax.

(*l*) A. D. 1027. Chron. Sax.

(*m*) Alur. Beverl. l. 1. — Gul. Malmeſb. de geſt. reg. Angl. l. 2. c. 2.—Higden.—Chron. Sax. p. 150, 154.

(*n*) Selden. Mare Clauſum. l. 2. c. 12.

(*o*) It may not be inapplicable to the preſent Subject, ſhould we obſerve that *Canute*, during a Siege, turned the Courſe of the

We may reaſonably infer that the Northern Trade, firſt ſet on foot by *Alfred* the Great, was conſiderably augmented by *Canute*, who was the Sovereign of *Denmark* and *Norway*.

Few Naval Events are recorded from the Acceſſion of *Harold Harefoot* (*p*), to the Demiſe of *Hardicanute* (*q*). The Firſt levied a Subſidy, or *Danegeld*, for the maintenance of ſixteen Ships of War, allowing eight Marks to each Rower, according to the Allowance ſettled by *Canute*. The Second raiſed it to ſixty two Ships, with the ſame Allowance to each Rower (*r*); Yet in the following Year it was fixed at thirty two Ships (*s*). Of theſe a Squadron was ſent to the Relief of *Swain*, King of *Norway*, at that Period, expoſed to a formidable Invaſion.

The moſt accurate of the old Hiſtorians (*t*), hath recorded a Circumſtance, which appears to lead to a Diſcovery of the Number, and Manner of equipping thoſe Marines which, in the Reign of *Hardicanute*, ſerved on board the Ships of War. When Prince *Edward* accuſed *Godwin* of having murdered *Alfred*, and demanded Juſtice for the Crime, the Earl perſuaded his Sovereign to receive from him, as a Peace-offering, a ſplendid Galley. Its Beak and Stern were profuſely gilded; Within it, were *fourſcore* Men, of whom each wore around his Arm a golden Bracelet, weighing ſixteen Ounces; *On his Head was an Helmet, gilded like the reſt of his Armour*; *Round*

the *Thames*, and carried his Ships above *London* Bridge.—Gul. Malmeſb. p. 72.

(*p*) A. D. 1035.

(*q*) A. D. 1041. Saxon. Chron.

(*r*) To defray this Expence, twenty one thouſand and ninety nine Pounds were paid, in the ſecond Year of his Reign.

(*s*) This Charge amounted to eleven thouſand and forty eight Pounds.

(*t*) Malmeſb. de geſtis Reg. Ang. l. 2. c. 12.

Round his Waiſt was girded a Sword, the Hilt of which was of maſſy Gold; On his left Shoulder he fixed a Daniſh Battle Axe, and in his Hand carried a Javelin (*u*); *He wore a triple Coat of Mail, wrought in Gold; and his Shield (adorned with gilded Nails,) was emboſſed with the ſame Metal* (*x*). Although the Deceaſed was Brother to the King, yet *Godwin*, (ſo pleaſing was his Gift,) obtained, by the Royal Mandate, an Acquittal, on the ſingle Condition of ſwearing that he was not guilty of the Crime laid to his Charge.

The *Saxons* are obſerved (*y*) to have ſtudied Magnificence in the Equipment of their Royal Veſſels. The Prow of one preſented to *Athelſtan*, by *Harold*, the Sovereign of *Norway*, was wrought with Gold, the Sails were Purple, and the Deck was ſumptuouſly gilded round.

The weak and eaſy *Edward* introduced his Reign (*a*) with the Equipment of a Fleet of thirty five Ships: But there is Reaſon to imagine that he was prevented by inteſtine Tumults from maintaining it in a State of neceſſary Defence, as not the leaſt Oppoſition was made to a Squadron, under the united Command of *Lothen*, and *Yrling*, two formidable Pirates, and conſiſting of twenty five Sail, which appearing off *Sandwich* (*b*) landed their Men, who ranſacked the neighbouring Provinces, and departed with Impunity (*c*). On their ſecond Arrival, in the following Year, the King embarked on board his Fleet in order to engage them, but returned inglorioufly, without having atchieved any thing of

(*u*) Called *Hateger*.
(*x*) Matt. Weſtm.
(*y*) Malmeſb.
(*a*) A. D. 1041. Chron. Sax.
(*b*) This is mentioned as the firſt *Britiſh* Haven where Ships were built.—Somner's Ports, and Fort.
(*c*) A. D. 1046. Chron. Sax.

of Conſequence! The next Naval Preparations in the Time of *Edward* were made to oppoſe Earl *Godwin*, who having bought and hired ſeveral Ships from the Ports of *Baldwin*, Count of *Flanders*, manned them with his Dependants, and all Pirates who choſe to enter. Thus ſupplied, he proceeded to an Expedition, intending to make a Deſcent upon the Coaſt near *Sandwich*; but when he was informed that the Royal Fleet, conſiſting of fifty Sail was haſtening towards him (*d*), he changed his Reſolution, and ſuddenly returned into the *Flemiſh* Harbours (*e*). Lulled by this Circumſtance into an imaginary Security, the King paid off the Seamen, and ſuffered the Navy to decay (*f*), whilſt the politic Earl, too prudent to diſarm, was waiting for a favourable Opportunity to renew his Enterprize. At length, he directed his Courſe towards the Iſle of *Wight*, where he was joined by *Harold* with a formidable Squadron from *Ireland*. The inſignificance of the maritime Force of *Edward* was now diſgracefully apparent. *Godwin* entered, without the faineſt Oppoſition, all the ſouthern Harbours, ſeized on every Ship (*g*), ſailed up the *Thames*, and appearing before *London*, ſpread around an univerſal Conſternation.

As we now approach towards the Concluſion of the Monarchy of the *Danes*, it may be neceſſary to inſert a brief Deſcription of their Naval Architecture. During

(*d*) A. D. 1052.

(*e*) Simeon Dunelm. p. 186.

(*f*) Chron. Sax. p. 166.—The *Danegeld*, which was not levied, in this Reign, to be paid to the *Danes*, but to ſupport a Reſiſtance to their Invaſions, was, until the ninth Year from the Acceſſion of *Edward*, ſet apart as a Naval Fund. A great Famine, raging in the Year one thouſand and fifty one, occaſioned a Remittance of the Tax.—Domeſday Book—and Herming. Chartul. Vol. 1.

(*g*) Chron. Sax. p. 166.

the remoter Periods, they were confined to Barks carrying Banks for twelve Oars: At length, improving in the maritime Arts, they conſtructed Veſſels of greater Force and Burthen (*h*), and we read that, in the eleventh Century, they had ſeveral capable of holding an hundred and twenty Men. The Royal Ships were of an extraordinary ſize; and the greateſt of all theſe, was that fitted out for *Harold Horfagre*, and named the *Dragon* (*i*). The *Long Serpent* built at the Command of King *Olave Trygueſon*, (and ſo called from having the Figure of that Creature carved and richly gilded, on its Poop,) was furniſhed with thirty Banks of Oars, and on its Prow were Ornaments of Gold. The Ships of *Canute* were equally magnificent; their Sides were decorated with gilding and with Silver; on the Top of the Maſt was the Figure of a Bird, that turning on a Spindle with the Wind, indicated the Point from whence it blew. At their Sterns, were either Human Figures, or Lions, or Dragons, or Bulls; and theſe were caſt in a Metal which was partly gilded, and partly covered with Silver (*k*).

The Naval Hiſtory of *England* can ſcarcely be ſaid to contain one intereſting Event from this Period, to the Acceſſion of *Harold* (*l*). Leſt I ſhould fatigue the Reader by too tedious an Introduction, it may be proper to wave the Mention of all leſs material Facts, and to enter upon a Subject which more directly leads to the Opening of this Work. *William*, Duke of *Normandy*, having prepared a formidable Armament, bent his Courſe towards *England*, with a Deſign to ſeize upon the Crown. The Royal Fleet muſt, at this Æra, have been conſidera-

(*h*) Northern Ant.

(*i*) Torfæus Hiſt. of Norway.

(*k*) Encom. Emma. p. 166.—Strutt's Sea Affairs of the Danes, V. I. p. 85.

(*l*) 1066. January.

derable, ſince, not long before, a Victory had been gained by it over the King of *Norway*, who ſailed up the *Humber*, with three hundred Ships, all of which were taken, and (excepting Twenty, returned by Capitulation,) applied to the Increaſe of the Marine (*m*). The *Norman* Prince had collected together three thouſand Veſſels of different Sizes; and this Number, great as it was, but juſt ſerved to tranſport his Army, amounting to fifty thouſand Horſe, and ten thouſand Foot (*n*). The Ship which carried *William* had been conſtructed at the Expence of his Conſort *Matilda*. Its Prow was ornamented with a carved, and gilded Figure of a Boy, who pointed at *England* with his Right Hand, and with his Left, applied to his Mouth an Ivory Horn (*o*). The whole Fleet (*p*), with the Troops on board, aſſembled,

(*m*) Gul. Malmeſb. de geſt. reg. Angl. 2. p. 2. 94.—Chron. Sax, p. 172.—Ingulph. hiſt. p. 900.—Hoveden, p. 448.

(*n*) Pictav. geſt. Gul. D. p. 197, 199.—Orderic. Vit. l. 3. p. 500.—Gemiticen. l. 7. c. 34.—Gul. Malmeſb. l. 3. de Gul. I. f. 56. ſect. 50.

(*o*) Taylor's Gavelkind, at the End.—probably in the Act of blowing the *Norman* Call to Battle. Thus *Harec*, on being informed that his Son was ſlain by *Grymer* King of *Sweden*, exclaimed: "Let the Bugle Horn ſound to Arms," &c.—North, Antiq. V. 2. p. 257.

(*p*) The following is an Account of the Fleet which came over with *William*, from an ancient Manuſcript, (in the *Britiſh Muſeum*,) judiciouſly corrected by the late excellent Lord *Littleton*.—"Willelmus Dux Normannorum veniens "in Angliam, ob adquirendum regnum jure ſibi debitum, "habuit a Willelmo dapifero, filio Oſberni, ſexaginta Na- "ves. Ab Hugone poſtea Comite de Ceſtria totidem. "Ab Hugone de Monfort quinquaginta Naves, et ſexa- "ginta Milites. A Romo, vel Rumi elemoſinario Feſcan- "ni, poſtea Epiſcopo Lincolnienſi, unam Navem cum XX "Militibus. A Nicholao Abbate de Sancto Audoeno XX "Naves cum C Militibus. A Roberto Comite Augi ſex- "aginta Naves. A Fulcone claudo XL Naves. A Ge-

"roldo

in the Beginning of the Summer, at the Mouth of the River *Dive*, where they were detained by unfavourable Winds. Theſe at laſt ſhifting, they ſailed along the Coaſt, until they arrived at *Saint Valori*, near the *Somme*, on the Eve of the Feaſt of *Saint Michael*, the tutelar Saint of *Normandy*, and on the next Day, landed, without Reſiſtance, at *Pevenſey*, in *Suſſex* (*q*).

We have been amuſed by Hiſtorians with extraordinary Inſtances of that Preſence of Mind which enabled *William* to convert the ſuperſtitious fears of Soldiers, in all other Reſpects valiant to an Extreme, into the firmeſt Confidence. When, leaping from his Veſſel, he fell upon the Shore, improving the Omen, he exclaimed, *Thus doth the Duke of* Normandy *take poſſeſſion of* England (*r*): When the Attendant who was arming him, had

" roldo dapifero totidem. A Will. Comite d'Evereux octo-
" ginta Naves. A Rogero de Montgomeri ſexaginta Naves.
" A Rogero de Baumunt LX Naves. Ab Odone Epiſcopo
" de Baios C. Naves. A Roberto de Morotein C & XX.
" A Waltero Giffardo XXX cum C Militibus. Extra has
" Naves, quæ computatæ ſimul M efficiunt, habuit Dux a
" quibuſdam ſuis Hominibus, ſecundum poſſibilitatem unius
" cujuſque, multas alias Naves. Matildis, poſtea Regina,
" ejuſdem Ducis Uxor, ad honorem Ducis fecit effici Na-
" vem quæ vocabatur *Mora*, in qua ipſe Dux vectus eſt.
" In prora ejuſdem Navis fecit fieri eadem Matildis Infan-
" tulum de auro, dextro indice monſtrantem Angliam, et
" ſiniſtra manu imprimentem cornu eburneum Ori. Pro
" quo facto Dux conceſſit eidem Matildi Comitatum Cantiæ."
—The noble Lord ſuppoſes, that by the Words " *Pro quo* " *facto Dux conceſſit eidem Matildi Comitatum Cantiæ*," the Writer means that he aſſigned her Lands in *Kent* for her Dower; the Country being given by him to his Brother, *Odo* Biſhop of *Bayeux*.

(*q*) September 28, 1066.

(*r*) Although the faithful *William* of *Malmeſbury* records this Circumſtance, yet we are not bound implicitly to believe it. " *Teneo te Africa*," the Obſervation of *Cæſar*, when he ſtum-

had turned the Breaſt plate upſide down, he drew a lucky Preſage from the Miſtake, at which he ſaw ſome Officers in his Train concerned, and ſmilingly obſerved: *By this I know that the Strength of my Dukedom will be converted into the Strength of a Kingdom* (*s*). The laſt Anecdote appears more authenticated than the former; but I preſent the Reader with both, as, if true, they are diſtinguiſhing Strokes in the Character of a Prince who makes ſo conſiderable a Figure in the Naval Hiſtory of *England*.

The *Normans*, removing their Troops and Veſſels, took up their quarters at *Haſtings*. Thither *Harold* diſpatched a Meſſenger to *William*, with an Offer of a conſiderable Sum, provided that he immediately ſubmitted to depart the Kingdom. The Terms were ſcornfully rejected, the Duke anſwering, that he ſhould leave his Opponent no Alternative, but to meet him in the Field, or agree to one of the following Propoſals: a Reference to the Arbitration of the Pope; an Enjoyment of his Crown on the Condition of doing Homage for it; or a Determination of their Cauſe in ſingle Combat. *Harold* replied (*t*), that as the Pope was his bitter Enemy, he ſhould not be an Umpire; that the Crown of *England* was independent, and ought always to continue ſuch; that a Challenge muſt be refuſed, as he was already in Poſſeſſion of the Diadem, and *William* had none to ſtake againſt it; and that of the reſt, the God of Armies alone muſt be the Judge.

Nothing now remained but to prepare for Action: Yet

ſtumbled, and fell at his landing, ſeems to have given riſe to the Story of the Duke of *Normandy*. *William* of *Poictou*, a cotemporary Writer, makes no mention of it.

(*s*) Pictav. de Geſt. Gul. Ducis.—Orderic. Vit.——Gul. Malmeſb.

(*t*) Ran. Higden.—Gul. Malmeſb.

the *Engliſh* were ſo remiſs, that they paſſed the Night in Revelling, whilſt the *Normans* employed it in Prayer and the various Solemnities of their Religion (*u*). The politic Duke, again working on the Superſtition of his Followers, informed them that in his Dream, a Voice cried out, *William! thou haſt conquered; thou, and thy Deſcendants ſhall reign in* England. A Monk alſo, who is recorded to have practiſed the Art of flying, affected to be inſpired, and propheſied that the *Normans* ſhould gain the Victory (*x*). By ſuch pious Frauds was the natural Intrepidity of the Troops augmented to a Degree of Phrenſy, and they reſolved to overcome the Enemy, or periſh in the Conteſt.

At Seven in the Morning (*y*), the Signal was given by *William* for his Forces to begin the Battle, when they advanced, and with violent loud Shouts (*z*), made a deſperate Attack upon the *Engliſh*. *Harold* diſcovered great Skill in the Diſpoſition of his Troops, placing the *Kentiſhmen* in the Van, and the *Londoners* in the Center, where, with *Grithus* and *Leofric*, his two Brothers, he fought in Perſon. In Obedience to his Orders, the Horſemen had diſmounted, and thus all his Soldiers formed a deep Phalanx of heavy-armed Infantry. Being advantageouſly poſted on a Hill, they furiouſly aſſailed the *Normans*, as they aſcended it, diſcharging on their Heads Showers of Darts, and ponderous Stones, from lofty Scaffolds made of Wood. Perceiving this, the Duke brought up his Cavalry, and advancing with theſe, and his Foot in the Wings, reached the Summit of the Hill, where the *Engliſh* inſtantly engaged his Army, Hand to Hand. After a deſperate

(*u*) Gul. Malmeſb. p. 101.---De Geſt. Ang. p. 332.
(*x*) Gul. Malmeſb.---Ran. Higden.---Order. Vitalis.
(*y*) Saturday, October 14, 1066.
(*z*) Pictav. geſt. Gul. Duc. p. 202.

perate Combat, the *Normans* fled; but *William* immediately haſtening to their Relief, ſo animated them by his Conduct, that they recovered their Ranks. The Battle being again renewed, the *Engliſh* were forced to retire, with great Loſs. Yet *Harold* drawing together the Flower of his Troops, made a vigorous Reſiſtance, and the *Normans* would probably have been totally defeated, had not *William*, by a ſucceſsful Stratagem, ſeduced the *Engliſh* from a Ground on which they fought with ſo manifeſt a Superiority. He commanded his Soldiers to feign a Flight: Their Enemies ſuppoſed it to be real, and purſued them to the Plain, where the *Normans* faced about, and drove the *Engliſh* back to the Hill. The Loſs on the Side of *Harold* was very great; and yet the little Remainder of his Men, animated by his Preſence, and Intrepidity, preſerved their Ranks unbroken, and continued the Engagement. In the Courſe of it, *Harold* and *William* were equally expoſed to Danger. The Firſt fought on Foot the whole Day, killing ſeveral of the *Normans* with his own Hand. The Second had three Horſes ſlain under him. Although the *Engliſh* were ſo fiercely aſſaulted by the heavy-armed Infantry, and ſo perpetually galled by the Arrows of the *Normans*, they ſtill remained immoveable in their Poſts. Thus undecided was the Victory, until the Cloſe of the Evening, when *Harold*, receiving a Shot from an Archer, fell bravely fighting at the Head of his Troops. With him, periſhed his two Brothers, and above ſixty thouſand private Men.

Thus ended the Battle of *Haſtings*, which, howſoever ſlightly connected it may be with the preceding Naval Expedition, is too memorable to juſtify my Silence. The Deciſion of the Fate of a powerful Kingdom, by a Monarch with a Part of whoſe Reign this Work will open, is intitled to our Attention; and where the ma-

ritime, and the military Character unite in the ſame Individual, it might be wrong entirely to divide them. I ſhall often be obliged to follow the gallant Seaman to his Victories upon the Sand.

We are informed by a contemporary Writer (*a*), that an *Engliſh* Fleet conſiſting of ſeven hundred Ships of War, were cruizing near the Harbours of *Pevenſey*, and *Haſtings*, where the Navy of the Duke of *Normandy* was then ſhut up: a Circumſtance which (as a celebrated Hiſtorian (*b*) hath juſtly obſerved) rendered it "very difficult for that Prince to receive any Reinforcements, or Supplies," and might have prevented the Termination of the War, if the Troops of *Harold* had not been too divided, and diſmayed, to fix upon another Leader.

I ſhall conclude this Introduction with ſome ſhort Remarks on the Infancy of our Commerce. Of ſuch little Value were the few Poſſeſſions of the earlier *Britons*, that the *Greek*, *Phenician*, and *Roman* Merchants, who landed on the Iſland with a deſign to Trade, ſaw no Article of Exchange, but Tin and Lead, for their Cargoes of Ivory, Earthen-ware, Braſs, and Iron (*c*). At this Æra, our Anceſtors, neither enjoying, nor coveting the Refinements of Luxury, were contented with the Fruits of their Labour. Thus, generally buſied in Hunting, Tillage, Agriculture, and the Feeding of their Cattle (*d*), except when they prepared for War, in Conſequence of their inteſtine Factions (*e*), and the Invaſion of the *Romans*, did they remain but ſlightly engaged in Commerce, until they fell under the Govern-

(*a*) Pictaven. geſt. Gul. Ducis, apud Ducheſne. p. 201. ſect. 2.
(*b*) Lord Littleton's Revolutions of England.
(*c*) Strabo.
(*d*) Solinus.—Diodorus Siculus.
(*e*) Tacit. Agric.

vernment of *Julius Agricola*. By this illuſtrious General, whoſe Abilities were equally adapted to War, or Peace, they were taught to raiſe a number of Commodities, the Overplus of which they bartered for the Merchandize of foreign Countries. Yet their Trade ſeems to have declined from the Moment that they loſt the Aſſiſtance of the *Romans*, and, at length, received an irrecoverable Stroke from the Conqueſt of *Britain*, by the *Saxons*, who (to uſe the Words of a great Writer *(f)*, "*threw every thing back into ancient* "*Barbarity*."

From this Period, until the Reign of *Alfred* the Great, we do not meet with many authentic Accounts of the Progreſs of Commerce, and muſt therefore, with the Exception of ſome Inſtances, reaſon entirely on Conjecture. The Leagues of Amity which were ratified by the *Saxon* Princes, and the Sovereigns on the Continent, are powerful Arguments in its Favour. It is not natural to ſuppoſe that *Charlemagne* would have entered into an Alliance with *Offa*; that the Emperor *Charles* the Bald would have given his Daughter in Marriage to *Ethelwolf*; that *Emma* of *Normandy* would have been ſuffered by the Duke her Father to eſpouſe *Ethelred*; and that the Females of our ancient Royal Families would have become the Conſorts of illuſtrious Monarchs, if the Report of their Dignity and Worth had not reached the diſtant Kingdoms, through the Means of an extenſive Commerce. The Elegance of the Public and Private Buildings of the *Saxons*, (an Elegance which, under due Allowances for the Age in which they were conſtructed, we cannot call in queſtion,) as being generally the effects of Commerce, ſeems a convincing Proof of its Exiſtence. We may infer from our early Claim to the Sovereignty of the Sea that our Merchantmen

(f) Hume on the Heptarchy.

men were continually ſailing on it to the different trading Ports. They only could have been anxious to obtain ſuch a Dominion who knew the Value of it; and that this Value was ſooner and better underſtood amongſt our Anceſtors, than elſewhere, is apparent from the Aſſertions of our Naval Superiority, which not only bear an older Date, but are more explicit than thoſe of any Power in *Europe* (*g*).

The Writer to whom I am greatly indebted for the Subſtance of Part of the preceding Paſſage, hath mentioned the Coin as an indubitable Proof of our Commerce (*h*). He judiciouſly obſerves that as Silver never was a natural Production of this Iſland, the Coinage muſt conſequently have ariſen from the Profits, or the Balance of Trade in our Favour. The Law, enacted by *Edgar*, to prevent the Inconveniencies which ſeemed likely to flow from the Introduction of the Weights, belonging to the different Nations, with whom our Anceſtors traded, is a memorable Evidence of his Zeal for the Freedom of Commerce (*i*). In this Circumſtance alone, might we trace the mercantile Genius of the *Saxons*; but it is equally diſcernible in the Aſſiſtance which they gave to thoſe Artificers, and Manufacturers (*k*) who ſought for their Protection (*l*).

If

(*g*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. I. p. 89.

(*h*) In the Time of the *Saxon* Kings, the Mints were numerous, and amongſt theſe, Seven had been eſtabliſhed at *London*; the Laws relating to the Coinage were alſo very extenſive.

(*i*) He paſſed an Ordinance for reducing all Weights and Meaſures to one Standard.

(*k*) *Benedict*, a Chriſtian *Saxon*, was ſent to *Rome*, and, on his Return, in the Year ſix hundred and ſixty eight, brought Glaziers, Painters, and other Artiſts—Bede Ecc. Hiſt. lib. 4. —Malmeſb.—Ran. Ceſtren. l. 1.

(*l*) An antient Hiſtorian * bears Teſtimony to the Naval Knowledge of the *Saxons*, before they arrived in this Iſland.

By

* Sidon. Apollinar. l. 8.—Ol. Worm. in Faſtis Danicis, l. 1. c. 2.

If the Authority of *William* of *Malmeſbury* can be relied on (*m*), we muſt conclude from the Deſcription of a Chapel, erected at *Glaſtenbury*, by *Ina*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, that great Quantities of Gold, and Silver, were imported into *England*, at that Period (*n*). This Structure was raiſed with two thouſand, ſix hundred, and eighty Pounds of Silver; the Altar, which was of Gold, weighed two hundred, and ſixty four Pounds; the Cup, with the Patena, both formed out of the ſame Metal, weighed ten Pounds; the Cenſer was compoſed of eight Pounds, and twenty *Mancis* (*o*) of Gold; the Candleſticks contained twelve Pounds, and an half of Silver; the Covers of the Book of the holy Goſpel weighed twenty Pounds, and forty Mancis of Gold; the Ewers, and the Altar-veſſels, weighed ſeventeen Pounds of Gold; the Veſſel to waſh in was compoſed of eight Pounds of Gold; that for the Reception of the holy Water, of twenty Pounds of Silver; the Images of *Chriſt*, the *Virgin*, and the twelve Apoſtles contained one hundred, and ſeventy five Pounds of Silver, and thirty eight pounds of Gold. The Pall for the Altar, and the Sacerdotal Veſtments were interwoven with Gold, and decorated with precious Stones. The Materials, and Ornaments of the Chapel amounted to more than three hun-

By the Flux and Reflux of the Tides, they diſtinguiſhed Time. In ſpite of the vaunted Skill of the *Greeks*, the Mariners under the Command of *Alexander*, on his Expedition to *India*, were ignorant of this Matter†: Even *Julius Cæſar*, and his Troops ‡, when they invaded *Britain*, were but little verſed in it.

† Arrian. Exped. Alex. Magn. l. 11.

‡ De Bello Gallico. l. 5.

(*m*) Malmeſb.—Ant. Glaſten.—Strutt's Religious Buildings of the Anglo-Saxons, V. I. p. 33.

(*n*) A. D. 688.

(*o*) A Weight of nearly fourteen Grains.

hundred, and ſixty five Pounds of Gold, and two thouſand, eight hundred, and eighty ſeven Pounds, and an half of Silver.

The *Saxons*, (like ſome Barbarians of the preſent Age) dealt in Slaves. During the Reign of *Edward* the Confeſſor, *Gith*, the Wife of *Godwin*, Earl of *Kent*, accumulated an immenſe Fortune by her Concerns in this Traffic. Great Gains were alſo drawn from it by the Merchants of *Briſtol*, who, about the Middle of the eleventh Century, yielding to the benevolent Counſels of *Wulfſtan*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, ceaſed to purſue a Cuſtom ſo diſgraceful to Humanity (*p*). The Exportation of Horſes appears to have been another Branch of the *Saxon* Commerce, and carried, during the Reign of *Athelſtan*, to ſo pernicious an Extreme, that a Law was enacted by this Prince, and his Council, which forbad any Subject to ſend Horſes beyond the Seas, except for Preſents (*q*). The Arts of Weaving, preparing Furs, and dying Linen of different Colours, were practiſed by the *Saxons*. It is probable that they exported Silk, and Cloth of their own Manufacture. Mr. *Campbell*, after having juſtly obſerved (*r*) that the Cloth-Trade was eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom, at a very early Period, adds that *no Record is extant to ſhew when it was introduced*. Taking the Words according to their literal Meaning, he may be right; but, although there ſhould not appear any Record of the *exact* Time of its Introduction, we may conclude that this Branch was carried on within the Iſland, in the ſeventh Century, as the *Anglo-Saxon* Laws (*s*) valued the Price of Wool at

(*p*) Holingſhed.
(*q*) Leges Æthelſt.
(*r*) Lives of the Admirals, V. I. p. 242.
(*s*) Leg. Sax.—Strutt's Manners, and Coſtoms of the Anglo-Saxons, V. 1. p. 74.

at two fifths of the Price of the whole Sheep. At this Period, the *Saxons* (*t*) ſheered their Flocks in the proper Seaſon, and dreſſed the Wool, which was afterwards ſpun, and then woven into Garments.

Of *Alfred*, we have already treated; yet it is but Juſtice to add that, as of every thing which ſtamped a Value on Humanity, ſo he was the great Encourager of Trade. In his Kingdom, the induſtrious Foreigner found a generous Welcome. Inventors, Artiſts, Mechanics, were all courted to repair to it, and none departed unrewarded (*u*). His Navigators were ſent to the remoteſt Countries; and his Ships returned from the *Mediterranean*, and the *Indies*, not only laden with the Treaſures of Commerce, but with the Elegancies of Life (*x*). Every Subject felt the Bleſſings of Induſtry, and reverenced the Prince who taught him to obtain them.

(*t*) Laws of Ina—Strutt's Huſbandry of the Anglo-Saxons, V. 1. p. 43.
(*u*) Aſſer. p. 20.
(*x*) Gul. Malmeſb. l. 2. c. 4.

MEMOIRS

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

The FIRST PERIOD.

From the Conquest, to the Accession of Henry the Fourth.

IT does not appear that when *William* took poſſeſſion of the Crown, his Naval Armaments were inconſiderable. We are informed by ſeveral Hiſtorians that, having landed on the Coaſt of *England*, he immediately gave Orders for the burning of his Fleet, that his Troops, deprived of the Power of retiring, might be the more ſenſible how neceſſary it was that they ſhould conquer. If I miſtake not, this Anecdote, (like the other, which was probably copied from the Commentaries of *Cæſar*,) ſeems grafted upon a ſimilar Paſſage, in an Author who wrote at a much earlier Epoch than that of which we are now treating (*a*). The circumſtance is inconſiſtent with the natural Policy of

(*a*) See the Introduction, (page 14) where *Conſtantius* is obſerved to have purſued the ſame meaſure.

of *William*. Such a Conduct, in his Situation, would have been more a Mark of Madneſs, than of Fortitude; and, for that Reaſon, it is abſurd to think that he purſued it. But we have a better Ground to proceed upon, in this Caſe, than Conjecture. Three reſpectable Annaliſts (*b*) diſprove the fact; the Teſtimony of the firſt, (*William* of *Poictou*) is incontrovertible, as he attended the *Duke* of *Normandy* when he landed. From him, as from the others, we learn that *William*, although he did not perceive any Preparations to reſiſt him, judged it prudent to advance no farther, and employed his Soldiers during the Space of fifteen Days, (which was the greateſt Part of the Time preceding the appearance of *Harold*,) in building Forts at *Pevenſey*, and *Haſtings*, to cover his Ships, and ſecure the poſſibility of Re-imbarking, in Caſe of a Defeat.

We may, therefore, conclude that the Navy of *William* was at leaſt, as conſiderable after the Victory which he had gained, as before (*c*). Some Authors have made it amount to eight hundred, and ninety-ſix Ships (*d*). *Wace*, (who, towards the Cloſe of the Reign of *Henry* the Second, wrote an Hiſtorical Poem, in *Norman French*,) obſerves that his Father had told him that when the Duke ſet Sail from *Saint Valori*, his Fleet conſiſted of *ſeven hundred Ships, wanting four* (*e*)

On

(*b*) Pictav. G. Gul. Duc. p. 199.—Gemiticenſis. l. 7. c. 34.---Orderic. Vitalis, l. 3. p. 500.

(*c*) And probably not more conſiderable, the Sons of *Harold* having carried off ſeven hundred Ships of War.

(*d*) Verſtegan---Speed, &c.

(*e*) I fear theſe miſerably uncouth Rhymes (which, in the eleventh Century, were probably, deemed harmonious,) will not be very pleaſing to the Reader; but as they illuſtrate the Obſervations in the Context, I take the Liberty of inſerting them. *Wace*, the Compoſer, was made a Prebendary of *Bayeux*, by *Henry* the Second.

Ne

On this Evidence, which comes to us only at ſecond Hand, We cannot abſolutely depend. The Author ſeems more intitled to our Credit when, in another Place, He affirms that He had met with a written Account, where the Number of Ships carrying Sails (and employed on this Expedition,) was fixed at three Thouſand. In this, He agrees with *William* of *Jumieges*, a contemporary Hiſtorian (*f*). But the *Norman* Fleet appears to have exceeded three thouſand Ships, from the Relation of *William* of *Poictou* who, although He hath not enumerated them, declares that they were more conſiderable than

Ne vos voil mei metre en letre,
Ne lone men voil entremetre :
Quels Barons et quanz Chevaliers
Quans Vavaſors et quanz Soldeiers
Out li Duc en ſa Compaignie,
Quant il out priſt tout ſon Navie.
Mais *lo oi dire a mon pere,*
Bien men ſouvient, mais vaſlet ere,
Que ſept cens Nès, quatre moins, furent
Quant de Saint Valeri s'eſmurent,
Que Nès, que Batels, que Eſqueis,
A porter Armes et Herneis.
Et Io ai en Eſcrit trovè,
(Ne ſais dire s'eſt Veritè :)
Que il y out treis mel Nès
Qui porterent voiles et tres.
A tantes Nès pout lon ſavoir :
Que mult i pout grant Gent avoir.

V. Cotton. Libr. Royal. 4. c. 11. f. 17. d. MSS.

(*f*) " Claſſem *ad tria millium Navium* feſtinanter, et be-
" nè conſtrui juſſit, et in Pontivo apud Sanctum Valericum
" in Anchoris congruè ſtare fecit ; Ingentem quoque Exerci-
" tum ex Normannis, et Frandrenſibus, ac Francis, et Bri-
" tonibus aggregavit, atque preparatam Claſſem tam
" valentibus Equis, quam robuſtiſſimis Hominibus cum Lo-
" ricis, et Galeis replevit."
Gemetic. Ann. Monac. l. 41. c. 34.

the Armaments of the *Greeks* againſt the *Trojans* (*g*). Some of theſe muſt have been ſmall Veſſels, or Tranſports; and as We have no ſatisfactory Evidence to the Contrary, it is impoſſible to aſcertain the Number of his Ships of War; Yet We may reaſonably ſuppoſe that, as the whole of his Fleet was haſtily fitted out within the little Space of eight Months (*h*), few, (if any,) of the Ships were either ſtrong, or well conſtructed. With a Part of this Navy, (leaving a Squadron to guard the Coaſts,) he embarked for *Normandy*, attended by ſome of his Forces, and the chief Nobles of *England*, as Hoſtages for the Fidelity of their Countrymen.

The Royal Fleet muſt have been either injudiciouſly ſtationed, or too defenceleſs to oppoſe a Squadron of three hundred Ships (*i*) fitted out by *Swain* the Second, King of *Denmark*, as they ſailed unmoleſted into the Mouth of the *Humber*, and there diſembarked the Troops under the Command of *Oſberne*, (Brother to *Swain*) accompanied by *Harold*, and *Canute*, the Sons of that Monarch. It would be foreign to my Subject to dwell upon the Circumſtances which gave Riſe to this Invaſion; Be it ſufficient to remark that *Oſberne*, whom *William* had wrought upon by valuable Preſents, and a Permiſſion to plunder the Coaſts, retired, (without ſpreading his Devaſtations any farther,) into *Denmark*. In the following Year, the Sons of *Harold*, having procured a Squadron of ſixty five Sail from *Dermot*, King of *Ireland*, bent their Courſe towards the

(*g*) " Memorat antiqua Græcia Atridem Agamemnoni " fraternos Thalamos ultum iviſſe *mille Navibus*; Proteſta- " mur nos Gulielmum Diadema regium requiſiſſe *pluribus*.

(*h*) From the firſt of January until the latter end of Auguſt.—Ypodigma Neuſtriæ.

(*i*) Chron. Sax.—A. D. 1069.

the *Weſt* of *England*, and landing, (without any Oppoſition from our Navy,) in *Somerſetſhire*, laid the Country waſte, and put the Inhabitants to the Sword. They were, at length, attacked by *Ednoth*, at the Head of a powerful Force, and after a bloody Conteſt, fled for Refuge on board their Ships, in which they immediately returned to *Ireland* (*k*). They ſoon appeared again (*l*) off *Exeter*, with a Fleet conſiſting of ſixty Ships, diſembarking from which, they committed the moſt violent Depredations, until they were repulſed by Earl *Brient*, who, with his Troops, engaged them twice in the ſame Day. Seven hundred Men, and the chief of the *Iriſh* Nobles, who fought on the Side of the Invaders, periſhed in the Action. The few Survivors eſcaped with difficulty to their Ships, and ſailed back to *Ireland*.

The Impunity with which the Squadrons of the Enemy approached the *Engliſh* Coaſts, and covered the Landing of their Forces, convinced the King that it was abſolutely neceſſary to augment his Marine. He fitted out a Number of Ships (*m*) which were ſo ſucceſsfully employed in preventing Earl *Morcar*, and his Party in the *Iſle* of *Ely*, from receiving any Succours, that theſe Revolters judged it ſafeſt to ſurrender at Diſcretion: a fatal Ignorance of the mercileſs Diſpoſition of *William I* who ordered the Hands to be cut off, and the Eyes to be put out of many of the Priſoners; and thus, were they ſcattered over the Kingdom, as horrible Examples of his Vengeance.

(*k*) R. Hoveden, p. 450.

(*l*) 1070.

(*m*) By his Orders, the Iſle of *Ely* was, at the ſame Time, ſurrounded with flat-bottomed Boats, and a firm Cauſeway of two Miles in Length, made through the Marſhes. This facilitated the Entrance of his Troops.

In the Seventh Year of his Reign, amidſt his Military Preparations, He fitted out a Naval Armament againſt *Malcolm*, the Sovereign of *Scotland*, and attacking him by Land, and Sea, at the ſame Time, compelled him to accept of Peace on any Terms (*n*). The Fleets of *William* now became a Terror to Invaders, and the Danes with two hundred Ships, under the command of *Canutus*, the Son of *Swain*, precipitately changed their Courſe, after they had even entered the Mouth of the *Thames*, and without committing any Hoſtilities, retired to *Flanders* (*o*). From this Period, the King renewed his Attention to the Concerns of the Navy, which was ſo formidable in the twentieth Year of his Reign, that it may be doubted whether *Canutus* with his ſixteen hundred Sail (*p*) of Ships could have ſucceeded in an Attempt to conquer *England*; but He was prevented from making it, by the civil Diſturbances which aroſe in *Denmark*, and deprived him of his Crown, and Life. The Danger of an Invaſion being removed, *William* ſailed in his Fleet to the *Iſle of Wight*, and,

(*n*) Chron. Sax. A. D. 1072.—Alured. Beverl. Annal. l. 9.

(*o*) Chron. Sax. p. 183.—Hen. Huntingd. Hiſt. l. 7. p. 369.

(*p*) In writing *Ships*, I have ſtrictly adhered to my Authorities *; yet I muſt preſume that ſuch a Number of *Ships of War* could not have been fitted out, in that Age. It exceeds, at leaſt, by thirteen hundred, the preſent Navy of *Great Britain*. It is probable that the greater Part of the Fleet provided by the *Daniſh* Monarch, and his Ally, *Robert* Earl of *Flanders*, conſiſted of Tranſports for the Troops. In all accounts about this Period, of Marine Equipments, We may naturally ſuppoſe that the Hiſtorian, when he introduces ſuch Multitudes, means, in general, ſmall Veſſels, for the ſole Purpoſe of eſcorting the Forces.

* Malmeſb. de W. 1. l. 3. f. 60.—Pontan. Rerum. Danic. Hiſt. l. 5. p. 197.

and, after a ſhort Stay, proceeded on his Voyage to *Normandy*.

We cannot take our Leave of this Prince, without the Mention of the Eſtabliſhment of the *Cinque Ports*. Their renewed Charters inform us that they firſt received their Incorporation from *Edward* the Confeſſor. At this Æra, and during the Reigns of the ſucceeding Sovereigns, they were frequently attended with ſingular Advantages; We cannot wiſh for ſtronger Proofs of the early Vigour of our Commerce. By this Inſtitution, *William* removed the Difficulties which He felt in providing a Reſource for the Support of his Marine. To compenſate for the Abolition of the *Danegeld*, the Produce of which had been applied to Naval Purpoſes, he conferred Privileges on ſeveral Towns commodiouſly placed near the Mouth of the *Thames*, and having Harbours in which a Number of Ships could ride with Safety. In Return to theſe Immunities, the *Cinque Ports* (for ſo were the Towns called,) agreed, on any Emergency, to equip a Squadron ſufficient for the Protection of the Coaſt (*q*): And ſo well did they fulfil their Contract, that their Fleets ſtanding towards the Navy of the *Danes*, who then meditated a Deſcent upon the *Iſland*, appeared too formidable to be oppoſed. The Enemy judged it prudent to return immediately, without offering the leaſt Hoſtility.

The large Sums of Money, and the Quantities of Plate in the Treaſury of this Monarch, are indiſputable

(*q*) In *the Red Book of the Exchequer*, We find that the *Cinque Ports*, at this Period, were obliged by Tenure to furniſh fifty two Ships, with a Complement of twenty-four Men to Each, for the Space of fifteen Days, at their own Expence, and (whenſoever they might be called upon,) for the Protection of the Coaſts. Other Sea-Ports, and ſome Inland Places, held by a ſimilar Service.—V. Libr. Rubrum Scaccarii.

Marks of the Proſperity of Commerce, during his Reign. We have already obſerved that as in *England* the Earth produced no Silver, ſo the Abundance of it poſſeſſed by the King, and the Chief of his Subjects, was a Proof of the great Balance of Trade in their Favour (*r*). Not to mention his Plate, *William* the Conqueror, at his Death, left, in the Palace of *Wincheſter*, ſixty thouſand Pounds Weight of coined Silver (*s*). At this Period, a Pound of ſilver contained about as much of the Metal as three Pounds do at preſent. Plate was alſo common in the Houſes of the rich Nobles, and Prelates; As for the Cathedrals, Chapels, and Convents, they were magnificently ornamented with Shrines, Crucifixes, and Veſſels of Gold, and Silver (*t*).

We are at a loſs for particularly diſtinguiſhing Strokes in the Naval Character of *William*, who, notwithſtanding that He frequently took the Command of the Fleet, had no Opportunity of engaging the Enemy; but it is probable that the ſame heroic Fortitude which no Difficulties could diſmay, the ſame cool Judgment, vigilant Activity, and quick Preſence of Mind, which were never known to have deſerted him in the Day of Battle, would have rendered his Enterprizes at Sea as ſplendid, and ſucceſsful, as thoſe which He conducted on the Land. To view this Prince in any other light muſt be foreign to my Subject. I am happy that it is ſo: The Reader would turn away with Horror and Deteſtation, from the full-length Picture of an accompliſhed Tyrant, nor be calm enough to ſeparate the great Qualities of his Mind from the Vices which debaſed it.

So

(*r*) Introduction, p. 42. lines 12, 13.

(*s*) Lord Littleton's Second Book of the Hiſtory of the Life of King Henry the Second.

(*t*) Dugdale's Monaſticon, and Baronage.

So ſlight an Attention was paid to the Concerns of the Navy, by *William* the Second, that few Occurrences of his Reign need be related here. The chief Increaſe of his Marine was owing to the Liberty which He granted to his Subjects of fitting out Ships of War, to rid the Sea of the Veſſels belonging to his Brother *Robert*, which were filled with Troops, deſigned to ſupport the Pretenſions of that Prince to the Crown (*u*). Theſe were intercepted by the *Engliſh* who, gaining the Victory, killed and drowned a great Number (*w*) of their Enemies. In the fourth Year of his Reign, *William* invaded *Normandy* by Sea, and Land, and after committing ſome Depredations, was perſuaded to conclude a Treaty of Peace with his Brother, and then returned (*x*). His next Armaments were prepared in order to attack *Malcolm*, King of *Scotland*, who, availing himſelf of the Abſence of *William*, in *Normandy*, had invaded the Kingdom. In this Expedition (*y*), he was unfortunate; His Fleets were ſhattered by Tempeſts, and moſt of his Troops, and Horſes periſhed with Cold, and Hunger. Duke *Robert*, the Commander in Chief, yielding to the Intreaties of *Edgar Atheling*, and perhaps more prompted to liſten to Terms of Reconciliation by the Conſciouſneſs of his own Weakneſs, ſigned Articles of Peace with *Malcolm*, who was bound

(*u*) Hoveden, p. 461.—Brompton. Chron. int. X Script.

(*w*) "*Anglici* verò piratæ qui curam maris a Rege ſuſceperant, innumerabiles ex illis occiderunt, et ſubmerſerunt."—Brompton.

"*Sed Willielmus* junior jam mare munierat ſuis Piratis, qui venientes in Angliam tot occiderunt, et in Mare merſerunt, ut nullus ſit Hominum, qui ſciat numerum pereuntium."—Hoveden.

(*x*) A. D. 1090.

(*y*) A. D. 1901. Chon. Sax. p. 197. Alured. Beverl. l. 11.

bound by them to do Homage for his Crown, to *England*. The next Naval Expedition of *William* was to *Normandy* (*z*), from whence he returned without performing any Thing of Conſequence.

Towards the Cloſe of his Reign (*a*), having received Advice that *Helie*, Lord of *La Fleche*, a ſmall Town in *Anjou*, had made himſelf Maſter of *Mans*, He was ſo incenſed that He immediately quitted the new Foreſt, where he was hunting, and galloped at a vaſt Rate to *Dartmouth*. There, perceiving a Ship, He ſuddenly embarked (*b*): As the Wind was unfavourable, and the Sea violently agitated by a Tempeſt, the Mariners warned him of his Danger, and implored him not to ſail; but he exclaimed: *Proceed upon the Voyage! You, ſurely, never heard that any King was drowned (c):* He was obeyed; and arriving ſoon afterwards at *Mans*, retook it; From thence, at the Head of an Army of *Normans*, He purſued *Helie* into his own Territories, where, whilſt He was laying Siege to the ſmall Caſtle of *Majol*, He received a Wound which obliged him to deſiſt

(*z*) A. D. 1094.

(*a*) 1099.

(*b*) Malmeſb.—Huntingdon.—Gemiticenſis.

(*c*) Malmeſb. de Will. II. f. 70.—H. Huntingd. p. 378.—M. Paris, p. 36.—Ypod. Neuſt. p. 442.——This ſeems to be another Imitation from Ancient Hiſtory, and groundleſsly applied to *William Rufus*, in whoſe Character we may, notwithſtanding, trace ſome ſtriking marks of Heroiſm. "*Ne* "*timeas; Cæſarem vehis,*" is ſaid to have been uttered by an illuſtrious General, on a ſimilar Occaſion. The contemporary Writers appear to have been fond of giving a *Roman* Caſt to the Manners of the *Norman* Princes; yet it is not certain that the Expreſſion (if it ever fell from *William*) merited Applauſe. A diſcerning Hiſtorian was of Opinion that it rather beſpoke an intemperate Courage, than a ſober Reſolution to maintain his Dignity; which would have been better provided for by keeping a Navy in conſtant Readineſs.—Roger Hoveden, p. 465.—Alured. Bev. Annales, l. 9.

deſiſt from farther Hoſtilities, and return to *England*. In the following Year (*d*), He fitted out a conſiderable Fleet, raiſing at the ſame Time, a powerful Army. His Object was to take Poſſeſſion of the valuable Provinces belonging to *William*, Earl of *Poitiers*, and Duke of *Guienne*, all of which were to have been mortgaged to him for a large Sum of Money; But this Intention was defeated by his ſudden, and violent Death. An Arrow diſcharged at a Stag, by *Walter Tyrrel*, a *French* Gentleman, glanced from a Tree, and ſtriking *William*, wounded him to the Heart. He expired immediately without a Groan.

Henry the Firſt, who, gaining over ſeveral of the Nobility, and Clergy (*e*), aſſumed the Royal Authority, immediately after the Death of *William Rufus*, was zealouſly attached to the Naval, and Commercial Intereſts of the Kingdom. Underſtanding that his Brother Duke *Robert* (who had entered *Normandy*, in Triumph,) was making the neceſſary Preparations for recovering the Crown, he augmented his Fleet, and ordered the Super-intendants of the Coaſt (*f*) to exert themſelves in oppoſing the Paſſage of the *Normans* to *England* (*g*). Unfortunately for *Henry*, the Commanders of his Ships were ſecretly engaged in the Cauſe of *Robert*, and deſerting with the greater Part of the Royal Navy into the Service of that Prince, facilitated his Landing, with his Forces, at *Portſmouth* (*h*). Although the two Armies drew up in ſight of

(*d*) A. D. 1100.

(*e*) Auguſt 2, 1100.

(*f*) At this Period, theſe Officers were ſtiled Butſecarles, or Butſecarli. In the original, the expreſſion ſignifies Boatmen.—V. Seldeni Mare Clauſum.

(*g*) R Hoveden, p. 468, 469.—Florent. Wigorn. ad A. D. 1101.

(*h*) A. D. 1101.

of each other, they were prevented from beginning the Attack by the Interpoſition of *Anſelm*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Prelates, and Nobles. Theſe prevailed on *Henry*, and Duke *Robert* to accede to Articles of Peace, by which it was ſtipulated that the Laſt ſhould wave his Claim to the Throne of *England*, on Conſideration of receiving a Yearly Stipend of three thouſand Marks; and that if Either ſhould chance to die without Iſſue, the Survivor ſhould immediately become the Inheritor of his Realms. The Adherents to each Side were pardoned, and reſtored to their forfeited Earldoms, and Baronies, whether in *England* or in *Normandy*; whilſt the two Brothers agreed never from thenceforward to abet, harbour, or protect the Foes of either Party (*i*). After having reſided ſix Months at the Court of *Henry*, apparently ſatisfied, *Robert* departed to his Dukedom; where, He is recorded to have broken an Article of the Treaty into which he had entered with his Brother, encouraging, and receiving the rebellious Subjects of *England* (*k*). It is however a doubtful Point whether the King was not the firſt to violate a League of Amity from which he certainly might have reaped the greateſt Benefit.

Whether *Henry* had really experienced the Infidelity of *Robert*, or whether he gloſſed over his Deſign to ſeize upon the Dukedom of *Normandy* with the ſtale Pretence of having been provoked, is not abſolutely material to our Purpoſe. Certain we are that He equipped a Fleet, with which, accompanied by a powerful Army, He paſſed over to the Dominions of his Brother. He took Poſſeſſion of the Town, and Caſtle of *Caen*, reduced

(*i*) Chron. Sax. p. 209.—Matt. Paris, p. 98.—W. Malmeſb. l. 5.—Alured. Beverl. Annal. l. 9.

(*k*) Holinſhed.—Matt Paris.—Ord. Vital. Eadmer.

reduced *Bayeux* to Aſhes, and then marched to *Falaiſe*, where his Troops were bravely repulſed; this Circumſtance, added to the Inclemency of the Weather, forced him to raiſe the Siege, and depart for *England* (*l*). In the Year following (*m*), He conſiderably increaſed his Navy, and with a great Military Armament, croſſed the Seas to *Normandy*, attended by the Chief of the *Engliſh* Nobles (*n*). The Struggle between the two Brothers was terminated at the Battle of *Tenchebray*. The Victory ſeemed to declare in favour of *Robert*, whoſe Troops, catching the intrepid Fire of their Leader, had broken the Ranks of the *Engliſh*, and thrown all into Confuſion (*o*): But, on a ſudden, the ſhameful Flight of *Belleſme*, deprived the *Normans* of their Fortitude; and the royal Army, to whom they reſigned themſelves an eaſy Sacrifice, put Numbers to the Sword, and made near ten Thouſand Priſoners. Amongſt the laſt was the unhappy Duke, and the Few of thoſe illuſtrious Adherents who had ſurvived the Battle. (*p*) *Henry*, having reduced all *Normandy*, returned into *England* with *Robert*, as his Priſoner; and ſuch this Prince continued until his Death, which cloſed a melancholy Period of twenty-eight Years paſſed, or rather conſumed away within the Caſtle of *Cardiff*, in *Glamorganſhire*.

Fulk, Count of *Anjou*, exciting the Inhabitants of the City of *Conſtance* to an Inſurrection, *Henry*, in order to quell it, ſailed with ſome Troops to *Normandy* (*q*). Having

(*l*) A. D. 1105.

(*m*) A. D. 1106.

(*n*) Orderic. Vit.---Brompton.---Gemiticenſis.---Huntingdon.

(*o*) Matt. Paris, p. 43.---H. Hunt. p. 379.---Brompton, p. 1002.

(*p*) Eadmer, p. 90.---Chron. Sax. p. 214.---Order. Vital. p. 821.

(*q*) A. D. 1111.

Having made Peace He returned; but was ſhortly afterwards obliged to prepare for another Expedition, in Conſequence of freſh Diſturbances, within his foreign Dominions. He accordingly fitted out a Fleet, and proceeding on his Voyage, ſoon landed with a great Force in *Normandy*. This Dutchy He totally ſubdued, and then departed for *England* (*r*).

Henry, who, whilſt He was proſecuting the Conqueſt of the Territories belonging to his Brother *Robert*, had experienced the Advantages reſulting from his Naval Armaments, grew anxious to maintain upon the Sea a Dominion which the Rival Powers might not be able to wreſt from him. For this Purpoſe, He introduced a formidable Marine Eſtabliſhment, without which it is more than probable that he would have fallen a Victim to the warlike Preparations of *Lewis* the Groſs, of *France*, who, joining the Counts of *Anjou*, and of *Flanders*, endeavoured to diſpoſſeſs *Henry* of *Normandy*, and afterwards beſtow it on *William*, the Son of Duke *Robert*. But the *Engliſh* Fleet, (together with the Army levied on the Occaſion) was more than ſufficient for the Defence of the Dutchy. Of this, *Lewis* had been ſeverely convinced, and therefore willingly agreed to Terms of Peace, which, being ratified, appeared to fix the Power, and Proſperity of *Henry* upon a firmer Baſis than before (*s*).

Yet the Monarch who in the full Career of Public Succeſſes was at once courted, dreaded, envied, and admired, became the melancholy Object of Compaſſion, and felt how cloſely Grandeur may be allied to Woe. Having adjuſted all Matters to his Satisfaction, *Henry* ſet ſail from *Barfleur*, and bent his Courſe towards *England*.

(*r*) A. D. 1113.
(*s*) A. D. 1119.---Order. Vit.---Matt. Paris.

land (*t*). His Son Prince *William*, ſeveral of the Royal Family, and other diſtinguiſhed Perſonages were to follow in a new Ship, (*u*), built on the Occaſion. Theſe embarked (*w*), with favourable Wind and Weather. It is recorded that the Prince, who had directed Liquor to be given to the Crew, propoſed that they ſhould endeavour to out-ſail the Veſſel which carried *Henry*, and promiſed that if they ſucceeded, they ſhould be liberally rewarded. With this Intention, (and perhaps too heedleſs of Danger, when their Spirits had been raiſed by Drinking) they kept ſo cloſely to the Shore that, at length the Ship ſtruck upon a Rock, called *La Catteraze* (*x*), near the *Norman* Coaſt, and immediately foundered. The Long-boat was hoiſted out to ſave the Prince, who, jumping ſuddenly into it, ordered the Men to put off, and make towards the Land. Thither, the Wind being gentle, and the Sea calm, He ſafely approached; when affected by the diſmal Shrieks of his natural Siſter, the Counteſs of *Perche*, who, in the firſt Eagerneſs of Self-preſervation, had been forgotten, He returned with Hopes of ſaving her. By this Time, the Veſſel, filled with Water, was on the Point of plunging to the Bottom.

(*t*) A. D. 1120.—Ord. Vital. l. 12. p. 867, 868, 869.—Malmeſb. de H. 1. f. 93. l. 5.—Chron. Sax. p. 212.—Matt. Paris.—S. Dunelm. Sub. Ann. 1120.---Alured. Beverl. p. 148.---H. Huntingdon.---Hoveden.---Brompton.

(*u*) Yet *Ordericus Vitalis*, obſerves that *Thomas Fitz-Stephen*, a Norman Pilot, claimed the Privilege of eſcorting *Henry* to *England*, in his Veſſel named the *White Ship*, becauſe his Father carried over *William* the Conqueror, on his Expedition againſt *Harold*, and that the King refuſed, having ordered another Ship to be made ready for himſelf; but permitted *Fitz-Stephen* to take over Prince *William*. See Lord *Littleton*'s Notes on the Hiſtory of the Revolutions of *England*.

(*w*) November 26.

(*x*) Carte's Hiſtory.

Bottom. In the general Danger, the Crew loſt all regard either for the Rank, or Sex of their Fellow-Sufferer, and alarmed for their own Lives, precipitated themſelves by Crouds into the Long-boat. Thus overladen, it ſunk, and every Soul periſhed (*y*). Prince *William*; the young Counteſs; *Richard*, (a natural Son of *Henry*) who had ſignalized himſelf in the laſt War; the Counteſs of *Cheſter*, Niece to the King, and Siſter to the Earl of *Blois*; *Richard* Earl of *Cheſter*, her Huſband; *Other*, his Brother, and Governor to the Prince; a Nephew of the Emperor *Henry* the V. ſixteen Ladies allied either by Blood or Marriage, to Royal Perſonages; and above an Hundred young Noblemen of the firſt Families in *England* and *Normandy*, were involved, with fifty Mariners, and the Officers of the Ship, in this untimely Fate. Two only had remained on board; the One a Boy, the Son of *Gilbert de Aquila*; the Other, a Butcher of *Rouen*. Theſe, when the Veſſel was ſinking, climbed up the Maſt, and being ſituated at the Top of it, kept their Heads above the Water, which in that Part was ſhallow. The unhappy Youth, whoſe tender Frame was not inured to Wet, and Cold, ſoon loſt his Strength, and dropping into the Sea, was drowned. The Butcher more hardy, and warmly clad in Woollen, reſiſted the Inclemency of the Night, and clung to the Maſt until Break of Day, when He was preſerved by ſome Fiſhermen, who came from *Barfleur*. It is recorded (*z*), that *Fitz-Stephen*, the Captain, (to whoſe Careleſſneſs, and Intoxication, this Accident was owing,) roſe out of the Water after he had ſunk, and recovering his Senſes, aſked the Butcher if the

(*y*) Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle, p. 438.—The Number of Perſons loſt, amounted to more than two hundred; from Hence, the Reader may form ſome Judgment concerning the Bulk, and Burden of the Ships in that Age.

(*z*) Orderic. Vital. p. 868.

the Prince was ſafe; on being anſwered that he had periſhed, He replied, "*Then Life would be a Torment to* "*me*; *I will not ſurvive him*," and plunging underneath the Waves, came up no more (*a*). The Royal Treaſure which, probably, conſiſted chiefly of Plate, and Jewels was, with the Remainder of the Cargo, taken out of the Wreck; but the Divers were unſucceſsful in their Search after the dead Bodies; Few were found; and theſe the Waves had driven aſhore to a conſiderable Diſtance from the Rock on which the Veſſel ſtruck; One, by the Dreſs, was known to be the Earl of *Cheſter*. The Corſe of Prince *William* was not amongſt them, and all Endeavours to diſcover it proved in vain. During three Days, *Henry* had flattered himſelf that his Son was either detained by contrary Winds, or arrived at a diſtant Port in *England*. Hope, for a while repreſſed the Uneaſineſs of his Mind; but when the lamentable News was poſitively confirmed, unable to reſiſt the Shock, He loſt the Fortitude and Compoſure which, till that Moment, had ſo ſtrongly marked his Character, and fainted away in the Arms of an Attendant. Such a Burthen of Affliction was too heavy to be removed; It broke the natural Chearfulneſs of his Temper, and He never after was obſerved to Smile (*b*.)

The other Events during the Reign of *Henry* are (with few Exceptions) beyond the Limits of this Work. The Fleet (if we ſet aſide the Ships which were either ſtationed to guard the Coaſts, or employed to attend the King on his Voyages to *Normandy*), remained inactive, but not

(*a*) A noble Author ſhrewdly obſerves that there is ſome Improbability in his holding this Converſation if he could not ſwim; and if he could, how happened it that he ſunk at firſt?—Lord Littleton's Notes on the Hiſtory of the Revolutions of England.

(*b*) Hoveden, p. 476.—Order. Vital. p. 869.

not neglected. The Public Tranquility rendered the Augmentation of Naval Armaments unneceſſary, and the Prevention of their Decreaſe was found ſufficient to ſtrike a Terror into the rival Powers, who could only be reſtrained from invading *England* by a Senſe of her Superiority on the Ocean. Such was the happy Fruits of that indefatigable Zeal with which this Prince attended to the Care of his Marine; nor was He leſs aſſiduous in promoting the Intereſts of Commerce by the Eſtabliſhment of ſalutary Laws; of which one reflects an equal Luſtre on his Diſcernment, and the warm Feelings of his Heart: He ordained that every Wreck, having any living Creature on board, ſhould continue to be the Property of the Owners. The merciful Tendency of this Law was to aboliſh the ancient, but diſgraceful Cuſtom which gave to the Lord of the Manor a full Right, and Property in a ſtranded Ship, and all its Cargo, unleſs thoſe who eſcaped ſhould return to it within a limited Period (*c*).

Even at this remote Æra, We meet with Accounts of Voyages undertaken by ſome illuſtrious Subjects of *England*

(*c*) Selden. Jan. Angl. int. oper. Tom. 4. p. 1009.—The Treatment which the unhappy Perſons who are caſt away upon our Coaſt ſo frequently experience from the Barbarians living near it, is a melancholy Proof either of the Inefficacy of the Laws, or the criminal Neglect of thoſe who ſhould enforce them. A Motion glowing with Humanity, and calculated to remove the ſhocking Evils which have ariſen in Caſes of Shipwreck, was, to the Aſtoniſhment of their Conſtituents, thrown out by the Houſe of Commons. We have been informed that this Proceeding originated from a *Miſtake*. It is a *gentle* Term. In the courſe of another Seſſions, we ſhall perceive whether it be *juſt*. One Repulſe will not intimidate an illuſtrious Senator *, whoſe exalted Underſtanding hath been accompanied, in its ſplendid Progreſs, by public Virtue, and Benevolence.

* Mr. Edmund Burke.

England, the which as not being abſolutely foreign to our Hiſtory, ſhall be briefly mentioned to the Reader. *Edgar*, the Grandſon of *Edmund Ironſide*, Brother of King *Edward the Confeſſor*, went to the *Holy Land* (*d*). The Chronicle of *Jeruſalem* records the valiant Atchievements of many who attended him on the ſame Expedition. In a few Years afterwards, a warlike Fleet of the *Catholic* Nation of *England*, reinforced by Naval Armaments from *Denmark*, *Flanders*, and *Antwerp*, proceeded to the Haven of the City of *Japhet*, or *Joppa*, and from thence to *Jeruſalem* (*e*).

The following Circumſtance is a ſtriking Proof that the neighbouring Powers had conceived the moſt ſanguine Ideas of the important Advantages reſulting from an open Commerce with the *Engliſh*. *Morchad*, or *Murchertus O'Brian*, King of *Ireland*, had exerciſed, at his Acceſſion to the Throne, ſome unwarrantable Severities againſt our Merchants viſiting his Ports. On their return Home, they complained of this Outrage to their Sovereign, who diſpatched a Meſſenger to *Morchad*, by whom he was menaced, in the Royal Name, with a full Interdiction of all Commerce with the Subjects of *England*, if he thenceforward preſumed to moleſt them in their Negociations. The *Iriſh* Monarch, alarmed at ſo ſpirited a Proceeding, and awakened to a Senſe of the bad Policy of his Conduct, ſubmiſſively intreated that the Denunciation might be withdrawn, and promiſed to give no farther Umbrage to ſuch valuable Allies. On this Condition, his Requeſt was granted; and as he continually reaped freſh Benefits from his Intercourſe with *England*, ſo he augmented the Privileges which had been

(*d*) A. D. 1102.—Gul. Malmeſb.—Hackluyt, Part 2. p. 11.

(*e*) Hackluyt.—Theſe Veſſels were called Buſſes: nearly ſeven hundred Perſons were on board of them.

demanded for the Subjects of that Kingdom, who choſe to traffic on his Coaſts *(f)*.

The Sum of One Hundred Thouſand Pounds diſcovered within the Coffers of *Henry* the Firſt, immediately after his Death, is another Proof of the flouriſhing State of Commerce, in the Middle of the Twelfth Century. An ingenious Inveſtigator of this Point obſerves (*g*), that ſuch a Quantity of Money might be coined, at the preſent Æra, to thrice the Sum; and that, if referred to its intrinſic Value, it ſhould be eſtimated at near a Million. He introduces the Ground of his Opinion by informing us that, during the Reign of this Monarch, a Subject, who held of him under the Obligation of furniſhing Bread for an Hundred Men, was permitted to compound, by paying one Shilling in Money. He diſſents from Biſhop *Fleetwood*, who ſuppoſes that this was Bread for a ſingle Meal; and rather imagines that it was Bread for a whole Day; as in Countries where this Eſtabliſhment hath always prevailed, a Ration of Bread is ſtill ſo accounted. He preſumes that, five and twenty Years ago, the Value of Bread for a Day might have been fixed at ſomewhat more than Two-pence; and conſequently that Bread for an Hundred Men muſt have coſt about ſixteen ſhillings, and eight Pence; ſo that what could have been purchaſed, in the twelfth Century, at the Rate of one Shilling, would, in the Middle of the eighteenth Century, ſell for almoſt ſeventeen Shillings. Yet, from hence, it is not to be raſhly concluded that any given Sum of Money, at that Time, ought to be multiplied by ſeventeen to find it equivalent in our Time. The Shilling in thoſe Days, being thrice as heavy as ours, was in Fact worth three Shillings; and therefore Bread coſting ſixteen Shillings, and eight Pence,

(*f*) Malmeſb. de. Geſt. Reg. Angl. l. 5.
(*g*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 128.

Pence, might have been bought, then, for as much Silver as in three of our Shillings. According to this Computation, one Hundred Thouſand Pounds were not in that Age worth entirely ſix Hundred Thouſand Pounds in the preſent Age: But if we reflect that a great Part of this Sum muſt have been in Gold, and that it is very reaſonable to believe the Compoſition was not exactly made, or ſtrictly ſet, it will appear that the Eſtimation of this Writer (*h*), is either agreeable to Truth, or not very far from it.

As in many Parts of this Work, it will be neceſſary to introduce ſome Accounts of the Commerce carried on by our Anceſtors, We ſhall, for the Convenience of the Reader, inſert the Mode of Traffic, the cuſtomary Payments, and the Value of Gold, and Silver, in the Times of which We are now treating. Although the lower Ranks of People who purſued their ſeveral Trades in the different Parts of the Country were but little concerned in the Receipts, and Diſburſements of Money, yet the Ordinances paſſed for the Determination of its Value, were of ſingular Advantage to them in their Buſineſs. As they fixed the Prices of moſt of the negotiable Commodities, they, of Courſe facilitated the Practice of Exchange, a Difference in which was paid either in Silver, or Gold, ſuitably to the Rates, at that Æra, eſtabliſhed by Law; and thus, the Poſſibility of the Commiſſion of an Act of Fraud in Public Dealings was generally prevented (*i*).

Payments *ad Scalam*, and *ad Penſum* were by Weight. The Pound amounted to Twenty Shillings, and the Officers took Sixpence over, which was called Vantage Money. This Mode of Payment was very Ancient:

(*h*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 128.
(*i*) Ib. 126.

When the Payment was given in *ad Penſum*, the Payer was to make good the Weight, although he had allowed the Sixpence over. To guard againſt any baſe Practices either with Reſpect to the Fineneſs, or the Weight, a Part of the Money was melted down; and this Proceſs was termed Combuſtion. There were two Sorts of Payments by Combuſtion; Real, and Nominal; Real, when a Sample of Money was put into the Furnace; Nominal, when a twentieth Part of a Pound was taken, and accepted, in lieu of actual Combuſtion. When Money paid in was melted down, or the Supplement made by adding One Shilling to each Twenty, the Ferme was ſaid to be dealbated, or blanched: thus, one Hundred Pounds ſo paid into the Exchequer after Combuſtion, was called One hundred Pounds blank. This was oppoſed to Payment given in *Numero*, or by Tale, as at Preſent. Computations, or at leaſt Payments were made by Pounds, Marks, Half-marks, Shillings, Pence, &c. Silver by Marks, Half-marks, Shillings, and Half-ounces of Gold. The Mark of Gold was equivalent to Six Pounds of Silver, or Six-ſcore Shillings: the Ounce of Gold to fifteen Shillings of Silver; the Pound of Silver was twenty Shillings; the Mark of Silver, thirteen Shillings and four Pence, and the Shilling twelve Pence (*k*).

The Difference between the *Saxon*, and *Norman* Money will, on Examination, appear leſs than might be at firſt imagined. The *Saxons* divided the Pound-Weight of Silver into forty eight Shillings; the *Normans* only into twenty. The *Saxons* divided their Shillings into Five-Pence; the *Normans* into Twelve. Hence it follows that the Number of Pence in the *Saxon*, and the *Norman* Pound was the ſame; and the Pounds themſelves were exactly of

(*k*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 127.

of the ſame Value, as being really, according to the Import of the Word, a Pound Weight of Silver. We have ſeen that large Sums of Money were paid in Weight; and this, becauſe the Silver Penny which was the current Coin, ſerved, when broken through the Middle, in Payment for a Farthing; the deep Croſs indented on the Reverſe of the Penny was to facilitate this Diviſion. Yet this Payment was confined to trifling Sums; Larger Payments were by the Scale. In particular Caſes they were expreſsly required, as in the ſucceeding Times *Sterling Money* was demanded, and, in this Age, *Good and Lawful Money of England*.—

During the turbulent Reign of *Stephen*, the Naval, and Commercial Intereſts of the Kingdom were fatally neglected. By renouncing for ever the *Danegeld*, He aboliſhed that Supremacy on the Ocean which his Uncle *Henry* had ſo intrepidly preſerved to the laſt Moment of his Life. The Ships were viſibly decaying: But, amidſt the Horrors of inteſtine War, no Meaſures could be concerted, nor any Supplies levied for their Repair. The only conſiderable Fleet fitted out by this Prince was that with which He ſailed to *Normandy* (*l*); and We may reaſonably ſuppoſe it to have rotted afterwards in the Harbour, as when *Robert* Earl of *Glouceſter* invaded the Northern Coaſt of *England*, with only fifty two Ships, an equal Maritime Force could not be collected to reſiſt him (*m*). Yet the Spirit of Commerce, although bending under the Violence of domeſtic Factions, was far from being broken. The Merchants of *London* and *Briſtol* ſtill maintained a profitable Intercourſe

(*l*) A. D. 1137. H. Huntingdon.---Walſingham.---Order. Vitalis.---Holinſhed.

(*m*) Gul. Neubrigen, l. 1. c. 13.---Nic. Trivet. Annal. ---Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle.

courſe with foreign Nations, and would have reſtored the languiſhing State of the *Engliſh* Trade to its wonted Vigour, if the Government had been able to ſupply them with Convoys ſufficiently powerful to protect their Veſſels on their Paſſage to the different Ports.

The greateſt Voyager in this Reign was *Robert Ketenenſis*, a learned *Engliſhman*, who paſſed through *France*, *Italy*, *Dalmatia*, and *Greece* into *Aſia*; then returned by Sea into *Spain*, and, at length, arrived in his own Country (*n*). Several *Engliſhmen* alſo accompanied *Lewis* the Young, King of *France*, to the Wars in the *Holy* Land (*o*).

The next Monarch, *Henry* the Second, having reſtored the Public Tranquility, introduced a powerful Naval Eſtabliſhment, from which He ſelected a Fleet, and proceeded with it to *France* (*p*), where He performed his Homage to *Lewis* for the Fiefs which He held of that Crown. Theſe were *Normandy*, *Aquitaine*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, and *Touraine* (*q*). In the following Year, He invaded *Wales*, and whilſt a numerous Army compoſed of all the Militia of *England*, marched through *Cheſhire*, to *Baſingwerk*, in *Flintſhire*, where *Owen Gwynneth* was encamped, the Fleet, cruizing along the Coaſts, infeſted the open Parts of the Country. About the ſame Time, (*r*) a formidable Squadron ſailed from the Port of *Cheſter*, to aſſiſt the military Operations of *Henry*, in *Flintſhire*, and from thence proceeded to make a Deſcent upon *North-Wales*. At length, *Owen* beſought the King to conclude a Peace, propoſing Terms equally ſerviceable,

(*n*) A. D. 1143. Hackluyt, Part 2. p. 16.
(*o*) A. D. 1147. Ibid.—Gul Neobrig.
(*p*) A. D. 1156.
(*q*) Gerv. Chron. et Diceto ſub Ann. 1156.—Hoveden, ſub. Ann. 1155.
(*r*) A. D. 1157.

able, and honourable to *England*. Theſe were accepted of, and *Henry* returned, leaving the Lords of the Marches to quell the petty Princes of *Wales* (*s*). In the fifth Year of his Reign (*t*), He again croſſed the Sea to *France*, in order to proſecute his Claim to the Earldom of *Thouloufe*, and quitted that Kingdom as ſoon as (through the Mediation of the Pope), he had amicably adjuſted his Diſpute with *Lewis* (*u*). In the Year eleven hundred, and ſixty-ſix, the King made another Voyage to *France*, where for Reaſons unneceſſary to be enumerated in this Place, his Preſence was much wanted. After a long Abſence he ſet Sail (*x*) for *England*, and was expoſed to imminent Danger, as he paſſed through the Channel. A Fleet of fifty Ships, attending as his Convoy, was ſeparated, and violently ſhattered by a furious Hurricane which aroſe at Midnight. One Veſſel ſunk, and all the Paſſengers periſhed. The Number, including Mariners, amounted to above four Hundred; and amongſt theſe were *Radulph de Bellomont*, Phyſician to *Henry*; ſeveral Officers of Rank in the Royal Houſhold; and *Henry de Agnis*, ſtiled by a contemporary Writer *(y) the moſt noble of the Barons of England*. In the melancholy Fate of this Lord, his Wife, and two Children were involved. The Ship which carried the King was beating out at Sea, in great Peril, during eight Hours, and, at laſt, unexpectedly reached the Harbour of *Portſmouth* (*z*).

Henry,

(*s*) Gerv. Chron.—M. Weſtm. Annales de Waverlen, ſub Anno 1157.—Welſh Chron. ſub eodem Anno.—Brompton Chron. ſub Ann. 1158. Lord Littleton's Second Book of the Hiſtory of the Life of King Henry the Second.

(*t*) A. D. 1159.

(*u*) A. D. 1162.

(*x*) A. D. 1170. March.

(*y*) V. Benedict. Abb. Tom. I. p. 2, 3.

(*z*) Lord Littleton's Fourth Book of the Hiſtory of the Life of King Henry the Second.

Henry, ſoon after He had taken Poſſeſſion of *Bretagne*, prepared to attempt the Conqueſt of *Ireland*; an Enterprize which nothing but his Altercation with *Becket* could have ſo long deferred. Concerning the Pretences for it, as they are diſtant from our Subject, it is ſufficient to obſerve that they teemed with the moſt flagrant Abſurdity and Injuſtice. The leading Motive was to gratify Ambition, the ruling Paſſion of *Henry*, and to add another Territory to his Dominions. With this View, he artfully adviſed *Dermot*, King of *Leinſter* (a mercileſs Tyrant, driven out by his Subjects, and, then ſoliciting his Aſſiſtance,) to apply rather to ſome of the *Engliſh* Barons, who ſhould, on this Occaſion, be permitted to arm in his Defence. Accordingly, *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, Conſtable of *Abertivi*, procured a ſmall Number of Tranſports, and embarking with his Troops, which conſiſted of an Hundred and Thirty Knights, ſixty Eſquires, and three Hundred Archers, brave and well diſciplined, landed ſhortly afterwards at *Wexford*. Thither he was immediately followed by *Maurice de Prendergaſt*, accompanied by ten Knights, and ſixty Archers; and Theſe, in conjunction with the Former, attacked, and took the Place. (*a*). Another Reinforcement compoſed of two Hundred Horſe, and an Hundred Archers, ſpeedily arrived (*b*), under the Command of *Richard de Clare*, Earl of *Pembroke*, ſurnamed *Strongbow*, who, aſſiſted by his Confederates, ſtormed, and made himſelf Maſter of *Waterford*; from thence, he proceeded to *Dublin*, and gained it by Aſſault. *Henry*, alarmed at the good Fortune of theſe Adventurers, the Laſt of whom had diſobeyed his expreſs Orders by going over to *Ireland*, iſſued a Proclamation which ſtrictly forbad all Commerce with it, from

(*a*) Girald. Cambr. p. 761, 762.
(*b*) Auguſt 25, 1170.

from any Part of his Dominions, and threatened with perpetual Exile, and the Confiſcation of their Eſtates, ſuch of his Subjects as might neglect to return before the enſuing Feſtival of Eaſter (*c*). This Edict was afterwards repealed, in conſequence of a ſubmiſſive Letter from the Earl, wherein he aſſured his Sovereign that "as He owed to his Royal Munificence every Ac-"quiſition in *Ireland*, ſo ſhould they all return to Him, "and be diſpoſed of according to his abſolute Will, "and Pleaſure (*d*)." The artful *Henry* now appeared ſoftened into a Reconciliation with *Strongbow*; He condeſcended to accept of the Renewal of his Homage, and Fealty; and reſerving to Himſelf the City of *Dublin*, with its adjacent Cantreds, and all the Maritime Towns, and Fortreſſes, ſeized on by the Earl in *Ireland*, conſented that his other Poſſeſſions in that Territory ſhould remain to Him, and his Heirs, as Fiefs dependant on the Crown of *England* (*e*). Matters being thus adjuſted, the King reſolved to viſit *Ireland*, and repaired, with *Strongbow* in his Train, to *Pembroke*, where he kept his Court, whilſt the neceſſary Preparations were making at *Milford Haven* for the Equipment of a Fleet intended to conſiſt of four Hundred, and Forty large Ships, and to eſcort from thence, into *Ireland*, Him, and his Troops, compoſed of nearly five Hundred Knights, all heavy armed Horſemen, with their Eſquires, or Attendants, forming a lighter-armed Cavalry; and a numerous Infantry of ſkilful Archers (*f*).

Every

(*c*) Hibern. Expugnat. lib. 1. c. 19.—Lord Littleton's fourth Book of the Hiſtory of the Life of King Henry the Second.

(*d*) Ibid.—Ibid.

(*e*) Neubrig. l. 2. c. 26.

(*f*) Hibern. Expugnat. l. 1. c. 28, 29.—Hoveden.—Benedict. Abbas, ad Ann. 1171.—Iriſh Annals.—Lord Littleton's

Every thing being ready, the King ſailed from *Milford-Haven*, eſcorted by all the Fleet, with the Troops on board, and after a favourable Paſſage, diſembarked near to *Waterford*, on the Feaſt of Saint *Luke*, in October of the Year eleven Hundred, and Seventy one. We need not follow Him any farther until his Return to *England*; Let it be ſufficient to obſerve that *Ireland*, diſpirited and torn to Pieces by domeſtic Tumults, was neither able, nor inclined to raiſe thoſe Naval, and Military Armaments which were requiſite to oppoſe this formidable Invader; and that the Conqueſt of a Kingdom, ſo anxiouſly coveted, was atchieved without the Effuſion of a ſingle Drop of Blood. During the whole Winter, and Part of the Spring, a Period of five ſucceſſive Months *(g)*, ſo perpetually ſevere, and tempeſtuous was the Weather, that no Mariners durſt venture out to Sea; and *Henry* had the mortification to find himſelf deprived of all authentic Intelligence concerning thoſe momentous Circumſtances, which had ariſen within his other Dominions (*h*). But no ſooner did the Storms ſubſide, than Meſſengers were diſpatched from *Normandy* to the King, with the alarming Advice that the Cardinals *Albert*, and *Theodine*, (appointed by Pope *Alexander* the Third to make an Inquiſition into the Death of *Becket*,) had waited during ſome Months, in *Normandy*, impatiently expecting his Arrival, and menacing that unleſs He ſpeedily appeared before them, the Sentence of Excommunication ſhould be pronounced againſt

Littleton's Fourth Book of the Hiſtory of the Life of King Henry the Second.

(*g*) A. D. 1172.

(*h*) Benedict. Abbas. Hoveden.—Brompton, ſub Anno 1172.—Lord Littleton's Fourth Book of the Hiſtory of the Life of Henry the Second.

againſt him, and his Dominions laid under a general Interdict (*i*). *Henry* felt the preſſing Neceſſity of repairing immediately to theſe haughty Legates, and, therefore, commanded his Troops, and Attendants to proceed to *Waterford*, where the Fleet was then ſtationed, and to embark directly. For Himſelf, and a ſmall Retinue, He reſerved only two Ships, with which he ſailed from *Wexford*, and arrived the ſame Day (*k*) at *Portfinnan*, in *South Wales*. His Forces had already landed at *Pembroke*. From *England*, the King haſtened into *Normandy*, taking with him *Henry* his eldeſt Son.

We ſhall ſlightly paſs over the Circumſtances relating to the unnatural Rebellion fomented by *Eleanor*, and the young Monarch, to whom his Father had not long before imprudently transferred the Crown of *England*. *Richard*, Duke of *Aquitaine*, and *Geoffrey*, Duke of *Bretagne*, ſeduced by the Artifices of their Mother, conſented to be Actors in this guilty Scene (*l*). By ſo alarming a Conſpiracy, *Henry* was driven to the painful Neceſſity of making War not only againſt the Kings of *France* and *Scotland*; the Earls of *Flanders*, *Boulogne*, and *Blois*; but againſt the Partner of his Bed, and the Pledges of their mutual Affection.

The Earl of *Flanders*, with a powerful Army of *Flemings*, was preparing to invade *England*, when *Henry*, convinced by the Information of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, that his Affairs in that Kingdom were daily becoming more deſperate, proceeded with great Expedition

(*i*) Girald. Cambrenſis.—Epiſt. S. T. 88. l. 5.—Gul. Neubrig. l. 2. c. 27.

(*k*) Eaſter Monday, A. D. 1172.—Lord Littleton's Fourth Book of the Hiſtory of the Life of King Henry the Second.

(*l*) Holinſhed.—Brompton.—Pol. Virgil.—Hoveden.—Diceto.—M. Paris.

dition to *Barfleur*, taking with him thoſe Priſoners of Rank whom it might be eaſier to detain in ſafe Cuſtody within his *Britiſh* Dominions, than in *France*. Theſe (beſides others of leſs note,) were the two Queens, *Eleanor*, and *Margaret*, his own, and his Son's Conſort; the Earl of *Cheſter*; and the Earl, and Counteſs of *Leiceſter*. As the Ships were lying ready to eſcort them, the King, attended by all the Reſt, embarked immediately (*m*) with favourable Wind, and Weather. But they had not proceeded far upon the Voyage when ſuch a dreadful Storm aroſe, that the Mariners ſeemed to deſpair of Preſervation. At this alarming Moment, *Henry* with that Chriſtian Fervour which reflected a Luſtre upon his Character, extended his Hands to Heaven, and declared it to be his anxious Wiſh, that, if the great Ruler of the Univerſe had ordained that *England* ſhould be rent aſunder by inteſtine Tumults, He might never be allowed to land upon its Coaſt; but that if it was mercifully decreed that his Preſence within this diſtracted State ſhould introduce that Peace which He ſo paſſionately deſired, it then became his humble Prayer that He might be ſuffered to reviſit it (*n*). So excellent a Diſpoſition was amply gratified. On the Evening of the ſame Day, He reached with a Fleet (which was not the leaſt damaged by the Violence of the Tempeſt,) the Harbour of *Southampton*; whilſt his Son, and the Earl of *Flanders* were detained at *Gravelines*, either Wind-bound, or afraid of venturing out to that agitated Ocean on which *Henry*, under the Care of Providence, had ſailed ſecurely to the Relief of *England*.

The

(*m*) July 8, A. D. 1174.

(*n*) Diceto Imag. Hiſt. col. 576.---Mat. Paris.---Lord Littleton's Fourth Book of the Hiſtory of the Life of King Henry the Second.

The other Particulars are immaterial to our Purpoſe. Let it be ſufficient to obſerve that the young King, and the *Earl* of *Flanders*, having heard of the ſafe Arrival of *Henry*, abandoned all Thoughts of invading *England*. A rapid Series of fortunate Events led to the Suppreſſion of this Rebellion, and enabled the Conqueror to repair to the Protection of his foreign Dominions. He, therefore, haſtened to *Portſmouth*, from whence he was eſcorted by a formidable Navy to *Barfleur* (*o*). Abroad, He was equally ſucceſsful, and having obliged his Enemies to ſue for Peace, He returned, with the ſame Fleet, in Triumph, to *England*, where He arrived upon the ninth of May, in the Year eleven Hundred, and Seventy-five.

We muſt now proceed to a Circumſtance leſs unconnected with the Subject of this Hiſtory, and look up to *Henry* in his moſt illuſtrious Point of View, not as the Sovereign of obedient Multitudes, but as the exalted Friend of Human Nature. It hath already been obſerved that, in a former Reign, a Law was paſſed for the Reſtoration of Wrecks to the Owners. Yet no ſooner had *Stephen* aſcended the Throne, than the Nobles ſet the benevolent Inſtitution of his Predeceſſor at Defiance, and began to plunder, with their wonted Barbarity, thoſe unfortunate Individuals who were caſt away on their Eſtates. Of this Proceeding a melancholy Inſtance is recorded in the Chronicle of *Battel-Abbey* (*p*) on one of the Manors of which Place a Ship was ſtranded. Alarmed, and irritated at the Conduct of theſe atrocious Savages, *Henry* the Second revived, and enforced with ſevere Penalties againſt Offenders (*q*), the Law

(*o*) Auguſt 7, A. D. 1174.
(*p*) Spelman. Codex Leg. Vet. et Stat. Reg. Angl.
(*q*) Gul. Neubrig.

Law of his Grandfather. It was at firſt declared that whenſoever any Man eſcaped alive to the Shore, from a Veſſel wrecked near it, the whole Cargo ſhould be preſerved for the Advantage of the Owners. The King, afterwards, and during the Interval between the Parliament of *Clarendon*, and that of *Northampton*, made a ſalutary Amendment to this Edict, declaring that if on the Coaſts of the *Engliſh* Ocean, or of *Poitou*, or of the Iſland of *Oleron*, or of *Gaſcony*, any Ship ſhould be diſtreſſed, or endangered, and no Man eſcape from Thence alive, yet if any *Beaſt* ſhould eſcape, or be found therein, alive, the Goods ſhould be delivered by his Bailiffs, or the Bailiffs of thoſe Perſons on whoſe Lands the Ship was driven, into the Cuſtody of four Men of eſtabliſhed Character, in order, that they might be reſtored to the Owners, if demanded by them within the Term of three Months. This was publiſhed as an Act of Grace from the Crown, in the Form of a Royal Charter, the which, (*r*) as materially coinciding with the

(*r*) A. D. 1174. An. 20 Hen. II. L. B.---Henricus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, Dux Normanniæ, Aquitaniæ, Comes Andegaviæ, Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Juſticiariis, Vicecomitibus, Præpoſitis, Miniſtris, et omnibus Ballivis, et Fidelibus ſuis, Salutem. Sciatis quod pro Salutæ Animæ noſtræ, et Animarum Anteceſſorum, et Hæredum noſtrorum, et ad malas Conſuetudines abolendas, Conceſſimus, et hac Carta noſtra Confirmavimus pro Nobis, et Hæredibus noſtris in Perpetuum, quotieſcumque de cætero contigerit aliquam Navem periclitari in Poteſtate noſtra, ſive in Coſtera Maris Angliæ, ſive in Coſtera Pictaviæ, ſive in Coſtera Inſulæ Oleronis, ſive in Coſtera Waſconiæ, et de Navi taliter periclitata aliquis Homo vivus evaſerit, et ad Terram venerit, omnia Bona, et Catalla in Navi illa contenta remaneant, et ſint eorum quorum prius fuerunt, et eis non deperdantur nomine Wrecci. Et ſi de Navi taliter periclitata nullo Homine vivo evadente contingat quamque Beſtiam aliam vivam

the Subject of our Memoirs, is introduced to the Reader.

vam evadere, vel in Navi illa vivam inveniri, tunc Bona, et Catalla illa per manus Ballivorum noſtrorum, vel Hæredum noſtrorum, vel per manus Ballivorum ipſorum, in quorum Terra Navis fuerit periclitata, liberentur quatuor probis Hominibus cuſtodienda uſque ad Terminum trium Menſium, ut ſi illi, quorum Catalla illa fuerint, infra Terminum illum venerint ad exigendum Catalla illa, et probare poſſint ipſa Catalla ſua eſſe, eis liberentur quieta. So vero infra prædictum Terminum nullus veniret ad exigendum Catalla illa, tunc Noſtra ſint, et Hæredum noſtrorum nomine Wreccci, vel Alterius qui libertatem habuerit Wreccum habendi. Si vero de Navi periclitata taliter nullus Homo vivus evaſerit, nec alia Beſtia ſicut prædictum eſt, tum Bona, et Catalla in Navi illa contenta Noſtra ſint, et Hæredum noſtrorum nomine Wrecci, vel alterius ubi Navis fuerit periclitata, qui Libertatem, habuerit Wreccum habendi. Quare Volumus, et firmiter Præcipimus pro Nobis et Hæredibus noſtris, quod, quotieſcunque de cætero contingeret aliquam Navem periclitari, in Poteſtate noſtra, ſive in Coſtera Maris Angliæ, ſive in Coſtera Pictaviæ, ſive in Coſtera Inſulæ Oleronis, ſive in Coſtera Waſconiæ, et de Navi taliter periclitata aliquis Homo vivus evaſerit, et ad Terram venerit, omnia Bona et Catalla in Navi illa contenta remaneant, et ſint eorum quorum prius fuerint, et eis non deperdantur nomine Wrecci. Et ſi de Navi taliter periclitata, nullo Homine vivo evadente, contingat quamcumque Beſtiam aliam vivam evadere, vel in Navi illa vivam inveniri, tunc Bona, et Catalla illa per manus Ballivorum noſtrorum, vel Hæredum noſtrorum, vel per manus Ballivorum ipſorum, in quorum Terra Navis fuerit periclitata, liberentur quatuor probis Hominibus cuſtodienda uſque ad Terminum trium Menſium, ut ſi illi, quorum Catalla illa fuerint, infra Terminum illum venerint ad exigendum Catalla illa, et probare poſſint ipſa Catalla ſua eſſe, eis liberentur quieta. So vero infra prædictum Terminum Nullus venerit ad exigendum Catalla illa, tunc Noſtra ſint et Hæredum noſtrorum nomine Wrecci, vel Alterius qui Libertatem habuerit Wreccum habendi. Et ſi de Navi illa taliter periclitata nullus Homo vivus evaſerit, vel alia Beſtia ſicut prædictum eſt, tunc Bona, et Catalla in Navi illa contenta, noſtra ſint et Hæredum noſtrorum nomine Wrecci, vel Alterius, ubi

Navis

er. A noble Author (*s*) conjectures that the Reaſon why Veſſels ſtranded on the Coaſts of *Normandy*, and *Bretagne*, are not mentioned therein, was that Theſe were included within the general Deſcription of *the Coaſts of the Engliſh Seas:* or that a Law to this Purpoſe had been made before in thoſe Countries (*t*). The Preamble of the Bill informs us that *Henry* had granted this Boon *for the Salvation of his Soul, and the Souls of his Anceſtors, and Heirs.* We muſt allow (with the ſame virtuous, and enlightened Hiſtorian,) that this was a far

Navis fuerit periclitata, qui Libertatem habuerit Wreccum habendi ſicut prædictum eſt. Hiis Teſtibus,
Venerabili Patre W. Karleol. Epiſcopo.
W. Valentin. Electo.
I. Com. Linc. et Conſtabular. Ceſtriæ.
Petro de Malo Lacu.
Henr. de Trublevil. tunc Seneſcall. Waſconiæ.
Hug. Diſpens.
Godefrido de Sancumb.
Amaur de Sancto Amando.
Willelmo de Beel.
Galfr. Diſpenſ.
Galfrido de Cauz.
Barth. Pech.
Johanne Guband, et Aliis.
Datum per Manum Venerabilis Patris Radulphi Cyceſtr. Epiſcopi, Cancellar. noſtri, apud Merewell. viceſimo ſexto die Maii, Anno Regni noſtri viceſimo.—Rymer's Fœdera. p. 36.

(*s*) Lord Littleton's Fourth Book of the Hiſtory of the Life of King Henry the Second.

(*t*) This is more than probable. The Humanity of *Henry* was certainly extended to every Coaſt where He could exerciſe a Maritime Juriſdiction. All the Sea-Provinces of France, even to the Mountains which ſeparate it from Spain, were holden by this King. It is not therefore extraordinary that a *French* Writer ſhould confeſs that his Claim to the Empire of the Ocean was as juſtly founded, as it was intrepidly ſupported.—P. Daniel, Hiſtoire de la Mil. Franc. Tom. 2. p. 445.

far more meritorious, and ſalutary Work than the Pilgrimage which He undertook, about that Time, to the Tomb of *Becket*, or the Stripes He endured, or the Gifts He offered there: and that the beſt Atonement a King can make for Sin is the doing of Good to Mankind.

The few remaining Naval Circumſtances during the Life of *Henry*, are not of Conſequence enough to claim our preſent Notice; and We ſhall haſten to a ſhort Deſcription of that Period at which, ſinking under the Weight of Trouble, and Infirmity, He contracted a lingering and fatal Fever. The perfidious Ingratitude of Prince *John* (*u*), his ſecond Son, whom he loved with more Affection than He had conceived for all his other Children, was a Stroke which the natural Violence of his Temper could neither enable him to reſiſt, or bear with the leaſt Degree of Patience. He curſed the Hour of his Birth; poured forth the moſt horrid Maledictions againſt his abandoned Offſpring; and perſiſted, with implacable Severity, in his Refuſal to revoke them (*x*). Thus torn by Rage and Sorrow, He was conducted in a Litter to the Caſtle of *Chinon*, near *Saumur*. Thither, his natural Son, *Geoffrey*, Archbiſhop of *York*, and Chancellor of *England*, haſtened on the firſt Notice of his Illneſs. This virtuous Prelate, whilſt every other Branch of the Royal Family was breaking out into Rebellion, alone continued unſhaken in Affection, and Fidelity (*y*). Perceiving that his Father, weakened by the Violence of the Fever, was unable to raiſe his Head from the Pillow, he tenderly moved, and

(*u*) Hoveden, p. 654.
(*x*) Ibid.
(*y*) Girald. Cambrenſ. de vita Galf. Archiepiſcop. Ebor. Pars 2. c. 5. in Angliâ Sacrâ.—Lord Littleton's Fifth Book of the Hiſtory of the Life of King Henry the Second.

ſupported it upon his own Boſom. *Henry* turned his languid Eye towards him, and having with Difficulty reſtrained thoſe heavy Sighs which almoſt robbed him of the Power of Utterance, He called him his *deareſt Child*. "You (continued the dying Monarch,) have "never, amidſt the Viciſſitudes of my Fortune, ſwerved "either from the Love, or Duty which you owed me. "As you have approved yourſelf the beſt of Sons, ſo "would I, were it the merciful Will of God that I "ſhould recover from this Sickneſs, become the moſt "Affectionate of Parents. If I live, no Subject with-"in my Territories ſhall equal you in Might, or Dig-"nity. But if this bitter Cup is not to paſs from me, "it is my earneſt Prayer that your filial Piety may be "recompenſed by that gracious Power in whoſe Hands "are all the beſt Rewards of Virtue."—"May the "Almighty, (replied his Son,) yet grant your Health, "and crown you with Proſperity! I form no Wiſh but "for the Sake of you whom moſt I love, and honour." A Flood of Tears prevented him from proceeding, and He left the Room. Thither, on being told that the King approached his laſt Moments, He ſoon returned, but in Time only to obtain his Bleſſing, accompanied with a Ring of immenſe Value, and an Order for the Receipt of another ſtill more precious, which had been depoſited in his Treaſury. After this *Henry* ſunk into the Arms of his Son, and immediately expired (z).

The Royal Corſe, attended by *Geoffrey*, was carried from *Chinon*, to the Nunnery of *Fontevrault*, where it lay in State in the Abbey-Church. On the Day following,

(z) On the ſixth of July, in the Year eleven hundred, and eighty-nine. *Mr. Campbell*, who ſeems to have followed *Matthew Paris*, obſerves that *Henry* lived ſixty-three Years; whereas he died either in the fifty-ſeventh, or fifty-eighth Year of his age.

lowing, *Richard*, either melted into Penitence, or hypocrically feigning to perform the laſt Honours to the Memory of his injured Father, had the Confidence to approach the Bier. Whatſoever might have been the firſt Emotions of his Mind, ſuch a Spectacle ſoon rouſed him to a State of Horror, and Remorſe. But the Violence of his Grief exceeded all Bounds, when, in Conſequence of the Diſorder which terminated the Life of *Henry*, the Blood guſhed from the Mouth and Noſtrils of the dead Body (*). It was then, that oppreſſed by the Pangs of his own Conſcience, and yielding to the Superſtition of the Times, he exclaimed, "Barbarian that I am! In me, Behold the Murderer "of your Sovereign." The Attendants to whom He addreſſed himſelf, and who before were ſhocked to find him preſent, now mingled their Tears with his, nor ſeemed diſpleaſed that the Parricide who brought *Henry* to an untimely Grave, ſhould aſſiſt in the Ceremonies of his Interment (*a*).

The Circumſtances which preceded, and followed the Death of this illuſtrious Protector of the Naval Dignity of *England*, were too intereſting to be omitted. An Examination of His exalted Character, in all its different Lights, is a Taſk on which I ſhould have entered with that Pleaſure which naturally ariſes from the Contemplation of ſuperior Excellence, if the Pencil of a Maſter (*b*) had not delineated *Henry* by Strokes as juſt as they are beautiful. To theſe, I hope it is unneceſſary to refer the Reader. But, Let him not imagine that He can be too converſant with the Hiſtory of the Life of that Sovereign, who had almoſt as few Blemiſhes, and as many Virtues and Abilities as are conſiſtent with

(*) Bened. Abb. p. 547.—Brompton, p. 1151.
(*a*) M. Paris, p. 107.
(*b*) Lord Littleton.

the Frailty of Humanity. His Actions (if we except a trifling Number) do more than merit our Applauſe: They abſolutely command it. Yet it is not amidſt the Brilliancy of Succeſs, or the arduous Adminiſtration of National Concerns, that We have Reaſon to admire him. Let us follow the exalted Hero into the milder Paths of Clemency and Benevolence. There, We ſhall conſider him with redoubled Veneration, when informed by the Hiſtorian, that *He never ſaw, without Emotion, the Blood flowing from a Soldier, or a Seaman.*

Richard, ſurnamed for his Intrepidity, *Coeur de Lion*, aſcended the Throne of *Henry* immediately after his Deceaſe, and having formed a Deſign of entering with *Philip* the Second, King of *France*, into a War for the Relief of the *Holy Land*, and the Recovery of *Jeruſalem* from the *Saracens*, loſt no Time in preparing for this important Enterprize (*c*). By numerous Exactions, which were all glaring Proofs of his Injuſtice, He raiſed conſiderable Sums, and applying them without Reſerve to the Purpoſes of an Expedition ſo flattering to his Love of Military Glory, levied a vaſt Army, and equipped a formidable Fleet.

Without inquiring into the Reaſon of their Proceedings, Let it be ſufficient to obſerve that *Richard*, and *Philip* reſolved to eſcort their Troops to the *Holy Land* by Sea, to furniſh them with a plentiful Stock of Proviſions, and to keep, by the Aſſiſtance of their Ships, the Communication open to their own States, and to the Weſtern Parts of *Europe*. The two Monarchs met at the Plain of *Vezelay*, on the Borders of *Burgundy*; and

(*c*) Gul. Neubrig. l. 4. c. 1.—Galfrid. de Vino Salvo.—Matt. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. p. 155.—Nic. Trivet. Annal. v. 1. p. 97.—Roger. Hoveden Annal.—Johan. Brompton.—Rad. de Diceto.—Ran. Higden in Polychron.

and after having reviewed their Land Forces, amounting to an hundred thouſand Men (*d*), and bound themſelves by Oath to defend each other, agreed to ſeparate for a ſhort Time, and repair to their Fleets, the *Engliſh* Diviſion of which was directed to wait in the Harbour of *Marſeilles*, and the *French* Diviſion in that of *Genoa*.

The Sea-Commanders appointed by *Richard*, were the Archbiſhop of *Auxerre*; the Biſhop of *Bayonne*; *Robert de Sabul*; *Richard de Camville*; and *William de Valerun*. Their Armaments conſiſted of more than one Hundred capital Ships, and about fifty Gallies (*e*). Such a Force is recorded to have alarmed the Jealouſy of *Philip*, who, from that Period, kept a watchful Eye on the Operations of *Richard*, and conſidered Him, not as the friendly Aſſociate, but as the formidable Rival,

(*d*) G. de Vino Salvo. p. 305. A. D. 1190. June 29th.

(*e*) The Naval Laws, enacted by *Richard* before he proceeded on this Expedition, are too ſingular to paſs unnoticed. Whoſoever committed a Murder on board a Ship was ſentenced to be tied to the Body of the Perſon ſlain, and thrown into the Sea.—A Mariner, or Soldier, killing another on ſhore was adjudged to be faſtened in like Manner alive to the Corſe, and, buried with it in the Earth—Whoſoever was convicted by a Legal Evidence of having drawn a Knife, or other dangerous Weapon, intending therewith to ſtrike any Perſon, or having ſtricken any Perſon to the ſhedding of the leaſt Blood, was condemned to loſe his Hand.—Whoſoever ſtruck any Perſon with his Hand, although no Blood might have iſſued from the Part ſo ſtricken, was ſentenced to be plunged thrice into the Sea.—The ſame Puniſhment was inflicted on Players at any unlicenſed Game.—Whoſoever addreſſed any reproachful Language to another Perſon, or vented Curſes againſt him, was for every ſuch Contumely, or Curſe, fined an Ounce of Silver.—Whoſoever was Lawfully convicted of ſtealing, was ſentenced to have his Head ſhorn, covered with boiling Tar, and Feathered; and afterwards to be driven, with theſe known Marks of Puniſhment to the next Landing Place, and there left.—Hoveden.—Matt. Paris.

who waited only for a favourable Occaſion of changing the Scene of War to *France*.

The King of *England* repaired, at the Head of his Troops, from *Vezelay*, to *Marſeilles*, at which Port He expected, but in vain, to have found his Ships arrived. A violent Tempeſt had ſeparated theſe, and driven many on the Coaſt of *Portugal*, the Sovereign of which employed them by Force in his Service, and for the Relief of the City of *Santaren*, at that Time beſieged by the *Africans*. Having waited more than a Week, a Delay but ill agreeing with the Fire, and Impatience of *Richard*, He reſolved to proceed on his Voyage to *Meſſina*, in *Sicily*; and, therefore, collecting haſtily twenty Gallies, and ten large Buſſes, He embarked, about the Beginning of *Auguſt*, in the Year eleven Hundred and Ninety, with a Detachment of his Troops, and Numbers of Pilgrims, who were permitted to attend him to the *Holy Land*. In nearly a Fortnight from their Departure, the Royal Fleet reached *Marſeilles*, and proceeding inſtantly with the Remainder of the Forces to rejoin *Richard*, came up to him at the Mouth of the *Tyber*, where his Ships then lay at Anchor. The King gave immediate Orders for ſailing, and landed, on the twentieth of *September*, with the whole Army, at *Meſſina* (*f*).

We ſhall paſs over the Contention between *Richard*, and *Tancred*, the Sovereign of *Sicily*, as not immediately relating to our Subjects. The Compoſition which removed it is of a more intereſting Nature. We find the *Engliſh*

(*f*) Here, treading for once in the Steps of his benevolent Predeceſſor, He paſſed an Ordinance which ſecured to any Perſon eſcaping from a Shipwreck the Enjoyment of all his Goods; and which, in caſe any Perſon died on board, veſted his Effects in the neareſt Heir; or, in failure of Heirs, proclaimed them to be the Property of the Crown.

Engliſh Monarch obtaining by it an Augmentation to his Fleet of four large Galleons, and fifteen Gallies, beſides ſixty thouſand Ounces of Gold. Thus prepared, He ordered his Ships to be formed into two Squadrons, and ſet forward on his Enterprize (*g*).

Scarcely had He quitted the Port of *Meſſina* when a violent Storm diſperſed his Fleet; Three of the largeſt Ships were loſt; On board of theſe periſhed, with a Multitude of Others, ſeveral Gentlemen of the Royal Houſehold, and *Roger Malus Catullus*, (Vice-Chancellor to the King,) whoſe Corſe was afterwards found with the Great Seal hanging about its Neck. The Few who eſcaped were apprehended immediately on their Landing, by an Order from *Iſaac*, the Tyrant of *Cyprus*, and thrown into Priſon. This little Potentate, who ridiculouſly arrogated to himſelf the Title of Emperor, had the inhuman Effrontery to refuſe an Admittance within the Harbour of *Limiſſo* for a Ship, belonging to *Richard*, damaged by the Tempeſt, and carrying *Berengaria*, Daughter to the King of *Navarre*, together with the Queen of *Sicily*, and many Ladies of the firſt Diſtinction. *Richard*, who arrived ſoon after, demanded an Entrance, and the Releaſe of ſuch of his Subjects as had been put under Confinement. To this the Tyrant anſwered by an haughty Refuſal, which ſo irritated the King that He inſtantly made a Deſcent, with all his Forces, upon the Iſland, and, after two Victorious Engagements, entirely ſubdued it. *Iſaac*, who ſurrendered at Diſcretion, begged that He might not undergo the Ignominy of being loaden with Irons; a Requeſt which, in the Opinion of this vain, and fooliſh

(*g*) Diceto.—Hoveden.—The Naval Force of Richard employed on this Expedition conſiſted of one hundred and fifty Ships of War, fifty-two Gallies, ten large Ships laden with the different Stores, and a number of ſmall Tranſports.

fooliſh Prince, was generouſly complied with, when *Richard*, perhaps in Mockery at his Pretenſions to the Dignity of an Emperor, gave Orders that He ſhould be bound with Links of Silver (*h*).

Having ſolemnized his Marriage with *Berengaria*, Daughter to *Sanctius*, King of *Navarre*, and celebrated her Coronation, *Richard* proceeded on his Voyage with a Fleet ſo greatly increaſed as to conſiſt of two Hundred and Fifty-four large Ships of War, and upwards of Sixty Gallies. Whilſt He was on the Seas, He fell in with, engaged, and took (*i*), a great Veſſel belonging to the *Saracens*, laden with Military Stores, and bound to *Ptolemais*. *Matthew Paris* (*k*) names it *Dromunda*, and likens it to an huge Caſtle floating on the Waves, and apparently Impregnable. Aboard were fifteen hundred Men; and theſe (if the Hiſtorian hath not given us an exaggerated Relation of the Barbarity of the Conqueror) (*l*,) were, with the Exception of only thirty-five, thrown into the Sea. Having preſerved, and afterwards diſtributed amongſt ſome of his Troops, the Cargo of the Veſſel, He ſet Sail for *Ptolemais*, where He arrived on the eighth Day of June, and immediately began to aſſiſt the Military Operations of the Beſiegers.

During the Attacks made by the Army on the Land, the *Engliſh* Fleet lay at Anchor before the City, in order to prevent it from receiving any Succour. The *Infidels* ſailed up to the Mouth of the Harbour, and fiercely engaged their Enemies; But, at length, overpowered by ſuperiour Numbers, were totally defeated,

(*h*) Bened. Ab. p. 650.—Viniſauf. p. 328.—Ann. Waverl. p. 164.—W. Heming. p. 523.
(*i*) June, A. D. 1191.
(*k*) Hiſt. Angl. p. 163.
(*l*) Viniſauf.

feated, loſing moſt of their Ships laden with Proviſions, and a great Quantity of Warlike Stores. The Troops of *Richard*, animated by his Preſence, obtained ſoon afterwards a deciſive Victory; and *Ptolemais* ſurrendered on the twelfth of July, when the Conqueror was declared Captain General of all the Chriſtian Forces in *Aſia* (*m*).

The other Atchievements of *Richard* whilſt He remained in *Paleſtine* are Foreign to our Subject. We, therefore, proceed to inform the Reader that, aware of the Danger of paſſing through *France*, He ſailed to the *Adriatic*, and was ſhip-wrecked on the Coaſt of *Iſtria* (*n*). There, He with Difficulty ſaved a Life which was afterwards rendered a Burden to him, by an Indignity ſo atrocious, and unprecedented, that All who did not gather an Advantage from his Misfortune, received the News of it with equal Horror, and Aſtoniſhment. At *Aquileia*, He diſguiſed himſelf in the Habit of a Pilgrim, intending to travel ſecretly by Night through *Germany*. To avoid the Purſuits of the Governor of *Iſtria*, He quitted the direct Road, and croſſed the Country to *Vienna*. Here, he was diſcovered; ſeized by Order of *Leopold*, Duke of *Auſtria*; loaded with Irons; and caſt into a Dungeon. This ignoble Vengeance proceeded from a Recollection that *Richard*, incenſed at his having preſumed, (when fighting ſolely under the joint Command of that Monarch, and *Philip* of *France*,) to place his own Banner on a Tower which He had taken at *Ptolemais*, gave Orders that it ſhould be torn from the Staff, and trodden under Foot. When *Leopold* had almoſt glutted the Barbarity of his Diſpoſition, He ſold his Priſon-

(*m*) Matt. Paris. v. 1. p. 163, 164.—Gul. Neubrig. l. 4. c. 22.—Roger Hoveden.—Vineſauf.—Mezeray.

(*n*) A. D. 1192.

Priſoner to the Emperor *Henry* the Sixth, a mercileſs Tyrant, and of ſo covetous a Nature, that it is not probable that He would have purchaſed him at the immenſe Sum of Sixty Thouſand Marks, if He had not deſigned to gain a more enormous Price for the Reſtoration of his Freedom. After a ſevere Confinement of Fifteen Months, *Richard* was permitted to treat for his Diſcharge, and at Length obtained it at the Expence of an Hundred and Fifty Thouſand Marks, which were nearly equal to three Hundred Thouſand Pounds of our preſent Money. Of theſe Marks, an Hundred Thouſand were to be paid down previous to the Grant of his Liberty; and the Security for the Delivery of the Remainder was to conſiſt of Sixty-three Hoſtages of diſtinguiſhed Rank, and Fortune (*o*).

A Part of the Money having been raiſed from a Tax of twenty Shillings on the Fee of each Knight in *England*, and the Deficiency ſettled by the Liberality of Subjects, who, pitying the ignominious Bondage of their Sovereign, melted down their Plate, gave a Fourth of their yearly Rent, and contributed a Tenth of the Tythes, *Eleanor*, the Queen-Mother, and *Walter*, Archbiſhop of *Rouen*, proceeded with an Hundred Thouſand Marks of the Ranſom, and the Sixty-three Hoſtages, to *Mentz* in *Germany*, where, delivering them up to the Emperor, and the Duke of *Auſtria*, they had the Pleaſure of releaſing *Richard*.

Scarcely had He quitted the Preſence of theſe flagitious Tyrants than *Henry*, who began to repent that He did not accept the Offer of a Bribe equal to the Ranſom from *Philip* of *France*, on the Condition of detaining *Richard*

(*o*) Mat. Paris. Hiſt. Angl. p. 172, 173, 174.—Nic. Trivet. Annal. v. 1. p. 117.—Gul. Neubrig. lib. 4. c. 33, 41.—Roger Hoveden, Annal. p. 728.—Rymer, v. 1. p. 84.

Richard in Priſon, during another Year, diſpatched a ſtrong Guard to overtake, and arreſt him. This Party came to *Antwerp*, in Time only to learn that the King had juſt before embarked with the utmoſt Precipitation, chuſing rather to venture his Life upon the Seas, amidſt contrary Winds, and the Violence of the Tempeſt, than truſt, a ſingle Moment, to the precarious, and purchaſed Mercy of his Enemy. After a dangerous Paſſage, He landed at *Sandwich*, on the twentieth of March, in the Year eleven Hundred and Ninety four. The *Engliſh* received him with a Tranſport of Joy, applauding to the Skies the Hero who had extended the National Glory to the utmoſt Limits of the *Eaſt*; and (what reflected a ſtill brighter Luſtre on his Character,) ſupported the amazing Viciſſitudes of Fortune with that Dignity of Mind which ſcarcely ever is poſſeſſed by Thoſe who fall from the Pinnacle of Human Grandeur, to the Depth of Miſery (*p*).

The Emperor grieved, and irritated at having loſt his Prey, directed the Violence of his Reſentment againſt thoſe unfortunate Individuals who were ſtill within its Reach. He gave Orders that the Hoſtages ſhould be caſt into loathſome Dungeons, and treated with the moſt implacable Severity. If the covetous and cruel Diſpoſition of *Henry*, together with the punctual Payment of the firſt Dividend of the Ranſom, were not upon Record, it might be imagined, from the Behaviour of this Tyrant, that the Compact had been broken by the King of *England*, and that, therefore, his

(*p*) That *Richard* now at Liberty was dreaded as much Abroad, as he was beloved at Home, is evident from a Paſſage in the Letter which *Philip* of *France* wrote to his Ally, Prince *John*: "*Take care of yourſelf: the Devil hath broken his Chains.*"—Rog. Hoveden, Annal. p. 729.

his Enemy was rather engaged in the Retaliation, than the Commiſſion of an unpardonable Injury.

Having paid a neceſſary Attention to the Public Affairs of his Dominions, *Richard* meditated a War againſt his virulent Adverſary, *Philip* the Second, King of *France*. He fitted out a Fleet conſiſting of an Hundred Ships, with which, attended by a large Body of Land Forces, He ſailed to the Relief of *Verneuil*, at that Period beſieged by the *French*. The Particulars of his Victory are as little deſerving of our Notice as the Skirmiſhes which ſucceeded it. Of a Naval Engagement, during a Struggle of five Years between the two Monarchs, We have no memorable Account. A Truce was at length agreed upon for the like Space of Time (*q*). Yet, immediately afterwards, each Party, taking freſh Offence, prepared for the Renewal of Hoſtilities. Theſe were, with ſome Reluctance, ſuſpended at the Interceſſion of the Cardinal of Saint *Mary* (*r*); And it is probable that his good Offices would have wrought upon the Competitors to accede to more durable Articles of Peace, if the ſubſequent Death of *Richard* had not rendered it leſs the Intereſt of *Philip* to accommodate his Differences with the *Engliſh* (*s*).

Vidomar, Viſcount of *Limoges*, and a Vaſſal under *Richard*, having diſcovered a Treaſure, preſented to him a Part of it. The King, concealing an inſatiable Avarice under the Pretence that it was neceſſary to maintain his Claim as the ſuperior Lord, expreſsly commanded him to give up the Whole (*t*); and, without waiting for

(*q*) T. Walſingham, Ypodigma Neuſtriæ.—Matt. Paris.—Roger Hoveden.

(*r*) Rymer, V. I. p. 109, 110.

(*s*) A. D. 1196.

(*t*) Roger Hoveden, p. 791.—Knyghton, p. 2431.—A. D. 1199.

for a Reply, beſieged him in his Caſtle. *Vidomar* offered to ſurrender; but *Richard*, adding the moſt ſavage Barbarity to the Flagrancy of Injuſtice, declared that ſince He had taken the Trouble to march ſo far, He would enjoy the Pleaſure of ſtorming the Garriſon, and hanging every Soldier on the Spot. After ſuch a Menace, an obſtinate Defence was more than juſtifiable. On the fourth Day of the Siege, as the King attended by *Marcadée*, Commander of the Mercenaries, was endeavouring to diſcover the leaſt defenſible Part of the Caſtle, *Bertrand de Gourdon* took ſo unerring an Aim at him, that he fixed an Arrow in his Shoulder. *Richard*, too heated to withdraw, and perhaps ſuppoſing himſelf to be but ſlightly hurt, renewed the Aſſault, which was ſoon followed by the Submiſſion of the Garriſon to the Mercy of the Conqueror. All, however, except *Gourdon*, were ordered to be hanged; and the Life of this Man was intended to be ſpared until ſome dreadful Method could be deviſed for taking it away (*u*).

The Wound did not at firſt appear to be in a dangerous State; but either ſuch was the Unſkilfulneſs of the Surgeon who extracted the Arrow, or ſo inflamed was the Blood of *Richard*, that a Mortification enſued, and Death became inevitable (*w*). As He approached his

(*u*) Ibid.—March 28.

(*w*) This was probably owing to an injurious Method of treating the Wound; and not to the Venom in which ſome Hiſtorians ſuppoſe the Point of the Arrow to have been dipped. The Caſe of the Duke of *Auſtria* (who detained *Richard* in Priſon,) is an extraordinary Inſtance of the Ignorance of the Surgeons, at this Period. He had received a violent Bruiſe on his Foot by a Fall from his Horſe, at a Tournament. When the Phyſians were conſulted, they declared that an Amputation was neceſſary to preſerve his Life.

his laſt Moments, the King ſent for *Gourdon*, and thus addreſſed him. "*Wretch that thou art! What have I "ever done to juſtify thy Attempt upon my Life?*"——"*Tyrant* (replied *Gourdon*,) *Canſt Thou aſk that Queſ-"tion? Thou! whoſe Hands ſtill reek with the Blood of "my Father, and of my Brothers! Haſt Thou the Confi-"dence to deny that thine Intention was to have ſentenced "me to be hanged, if in the Bitterneſs of Revenge Thou "hadſt not judged that Puniſhment too gentle. But, Sa-"tiate thy Barbarity! Now! exert the Power which "Thou haſt acquired over me! I am prepared to meet the "moſt excruciating Torture. Know! that even in the "laſt Agonies, I ſhall derive a Pleaſure from the Perſua-"ſion that I have freed Mankind from ſuch a Scourge as "thou art!*"—*Richard*, to whom, in ſpite of that Ferocity which ſtained his Character, ſuch Strokes of Heroiſm had always been affecting, felt the Juſtice of this Reply, and, in the true Spirit of Forgiveneſs, directed that *Gourdon* ſhould not only be ſet at Liberty, but preſented with a Purſe of Silver. This benevolent Intention was defeated by the ſavage Villainy of *Marcadée*, who firſt flead *Gourdon* alive, and then hanged him (*y*). *Richard* expired on the Sixth of *April*, in the Tenth Year of his Reign, and the Forty-ſecond of his Age (*z*).

We

Life. The Surgeons of the Court were called in: and Each acknowledging his Inabilities, declined the Operation. During this Exigency, the *Chamberlain* was applied to, and although unſkilled in the Practice, commanded to ſtrike off the Foot of his Sovereign. With a ſharp Axe, He, at three Blows, performed his Office. Exceſſive Torture threw the Duke into a Fever, which baffled all the little Medical Knowledge of that Age and ſoon deprived him of his Life. —Rob. Gloſ. in vit. Ric. Pri. p. 400.

(*y*) Roger Hoveden, Annal. p. 791. — Brompton, p. 1277.—Knighton, p. 2413.—Matt. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. p. 195.—Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. I. p. 124.

(*z*) A. D. 1199.

We ſhall conclude our Account of this Prince with a ſlight View of his Military, and Naval Character. In the Firſt, He was Superior to Misfortune, and Brave to an Exceſs; but Fierce, Cruel, and Vindictive. In the Laſt the ſame romantic Heroiſm, the ſame deteſtable Barbarity, and implacable Revenge, were dreadfully conſpicuous. To gratify theſe, He trampled on all the ſacred Privileges of Human Nature as mercileſsly as He violated the Laws of War. It was ſolely when He diſcerned in Others thoſe extravagant Flights of Reſolution which were the diſtinguiſhing Marks of his own Conduct, that He checked his natural Ferocity, and embraced a Conquered Enemy, who, by daring him to be cruel, protracted, and (if the intended Act of Clemency had not been fruſtrated by a Traitor,) would have eſcaped the Puniſhment which Submiſſion might have haſtened. Of the *Engliſh* Commerce He was a ſpirited Protector; and ſo firmly did He maintain a perpetual Superiority on the Ocean, that *Philip* of *France*, leſt the Conſequences of it ſhould have proved fatal to himſelf, formed an Alliance with *Canutus* the fifth, King of *Denmark*, whoſe Daughter He eſpouſed, on the Condition of being furniſhed with a Fleet ſufficiently powerful to reſiſt, if not ſubdue, the Naval Force of *Richard* (*a*). This intended Expedition was, however, prevented from taking Place by the groſs Affronts to which *Iſemburga*, Queen of *France*, and *Canutus* her Father were expoſed by the Inconſtancy of *Philip*.

It is ſome Satisfaction that amidſt the Public, and the Private Vices which have rendered the Character of *John* ſo odious to Poſterity, We can perceive a Gleam of Patriotic Virtue in his Zeal for the Advancement of the Naval Glory of the *Engliſh*. Not long after He had mounted the Throne, the Peers were ſummoned to attend

(*a*) Gul. Neubrig. lib. 4. c. 26.

attend him at *Haſtings*, where (*b*) in Council, it was enacted that if the Commanders of Ships belonging to the Royal Fleet, ſhould, at any Time, be inſulted, by the Maſters of Foreign Veſſels approaching to them on the Seas, with a Refuſal to Strike to the *Britiſh* Flag, then ſuch Veſſels, whether laden, or empty, ſhould, if poſſible, be taken, and thereafter deemed good, and lawful Prizes, notwithſtanding that on Inquiry it might appear that the Owners of ſuch Veſſels were the Subjects of a Power at Peace with the Kingdom; and that all Officers, Mariners, and Others on board theſe Veſſels ſhould be ſentenced as Rebels, to be impriſoned, at the Diſcretion of their Judges (*). A more manifeſt Proof of our Superiority on the Ocean is not to be adduced (*c*); and We may reaſonably infer from this Pretenſion to it, and the Nature of the Mandate here annexed (*d*), that *John* and

(*b*) A. D. 1200.

(*) "Encontrant ſur la Mer aucunes Nefs, ou Veſſeaulx "charges ou voides, qui ne veuillent avaler, et abaiſſer "leur Trieſs, au Commandement du Lieutenant du Roy, ou "ſon Lieutenant, mais combatant encontré ceulx de la Flotte, ſilz puent etre pris, qu'ils ſoient reputez comme Enemies et leurs Nefs, Veſſeaulx, et Biens pris, et forfaits "come Biens des Enemies, tout ſoit que le Maiſtres, ou "Poſſeſſours d'iceulx voudroient venir apres, et alleguer "meſmes les Nefs, Veſſeaulx, et Biens eſtre des Amies du "Roy notre Seigneur; Et que la Menye eſtant en iceulx "ſoient chaſtiez par Empriſonement de leur Corps, pur leur "Rebelleté, par Diſcretion."—Seldeni Mare Clauſum.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) "The King to all the *Sturemauni* *, *Marinelli* †, and "*Merchants* of *England*, uſing tne Sea, Greeting: Know Ye, "that we have ſent *Alanas Juvo* of *Sorham*, *Walter Staitun* "*Vincent* of *Haſtings*, and *Winmud* of *Winchelſea*, with others "of our Barons of the *Cinque Ports*, &c. Four faithful *Sturemanni*, and *Marinelli*, of our Gallies to arreſt, and ſafely bring into *England* all Ships that they can find, with all "that ſhall be found in them: and Therefore We Command

"You

and his Council acted by Virtue of ancient, and eſtabliſhed Laws, iſſuing from the fulleſt Senſe of an indubitable Right (enjoyed by former Sovereigns,) to extend Embargoes over all the *Engliſh* Seas, and preſs ſuch foreign Ships as might be found upon them, into the Service of the Kingdom.

In the Year one Thouſand, two Hundred, and Six, the King, whoſe Cowardice, and Sloth abroad had loaded him with Diſgrace, aſſembled his Troops, and equipped a formidable Fleet, declaring that He ſhould retrieve in *France* the Honour which he had loſt. On this Expedition, all the Barons of the Realm were ſummoned to attend. They immediately proceeded to *Portſmouth*, and were on the Point of embarking with their Sovereign, when the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *William Marſhall*, Earl of *Pembroke* conjured him, in the Name of the Pope, to deſiſt from the Enterprize (*e*). The abject Fears of *John* induced him to comply; and, therefore, only ſending over a ſmall Succour, under the Command of the Earl of *Saliſbury*, He diſmiſſed the Remainder of his Fleet, and Forces. The Murmurs of the Seamen, fourteen Thouſand of whom had arrived from the diſtant Parts of the Kingdom, in Order to ſerve on board the Ships, ſo alarmed the King that He

" You to be aiding to them in this Buſineſs, ſo that Ye be " in *England* with your Ships, and Goods, at ſuch Ports as " they ſhall appoint. And if Any ſhall attempt to reſiſt " them, contrary to our Command, Ye, our Liege-Men, " are required to aid them with all your Power, as You " tender Yourſelves, and your Chattels, and your Quiet, " and Reſidence, and that of all your Kindred, within our " Dominions."

* Sea-Captains, and Officers.

† Mariners, or Sea-Soldiers.—Gen. Treat. of the Dominion of the Sea,

(*e*) Matt. Paris. Hiſt. Angl.

promiſed not entirely to relinquiſh, howſoever He might delay the Expedition, but to employ them at an early, and more favourable Period. According, He, in the following Seaſon, attended by a conſiderable Squadron, and ſome choſen Troops, proceeded from *Portſmouth* (*f*) to *Rochelle*, where He landed, on the Ninth of *July*, and immediately marched to *Angers*, which He took, and reduced to Aſhes. Here, only, We behold him as a Conqueror. All his other Operations were ignominious to an Extreme; of theſe it is ſufficient to obſerve that they terminated in the Loſs of moſt of his Tranſmarine Provinces, and reduced him to the Neceſſity of acceding to a Truce which rendered him contemptible in the Eyes of all *Europe* (*g*.)

John, whoſe Cowardice, and Inactivity diſabled him from an Oppoſition to a formidable Adverſary, gave Orders for the Levying of an Army, and the Equipment of a Fleet, to act in Concert againſt the *Iriſh*, Enemies too defenceleſs to diſquiet him with the Threats of a Reſiſtance. He ſailed, with five Hundred Ships, from *Pembroke*, and landed at *Dublin*, on the Sixth of *June*, in the Year one Thouſand, two Hundred, and Ten. Immediately after his Arrival, He was met by Twenty of the *Iriſh* Dynaſts, who, peaceably ſubmitting, did Homage for their Territories: But the *Engliſh* Barons *Hugh*, and *Walter de Lacy*, dreading the Severity of an irritated, and vindictive Sovereign, fled into *France*, where *William de Braouſe*, a Nobleman of diſtinguiſhed Character, ſought an Aſylum from his Purſuits, leaving behind, his Wife, and Son, who were afterwards ſeized, and by the Order of *John*, ſtarved to Death, in Priſon (*h*.) *Cathal*, King of *Connaught*, (the Articles

(*f*) June 25, A. D. 1206.
(*g*) Rymer, Vol. I. p. 141.
(*h*) Matt. Paris.—Hanmer.—Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 191.

ticles of whoſe Submiſſion had been adjuſted ſome Years before) waited alſo upon the *Engliſh* Monarch, and formally renewed his Proteſtations of Fidelity (*i*)

I mention this Circumſtance, becauſe Several of the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, (and, with them, a Writer (*k*) who, perhaps, hath placed the Character of *John* in too favourable a Point of View,) obſerve that *Cathal* was reduced by Force of Arms. It appears from authentic Records, all tending to ſupport the Aſſertions of the *Iriſh* Annaliſts, that this Prince, ſo far from meditating a Reſiſtance, came peaceably, and took the Oaths of Fealty (*l*). The martial Atchievements of *John* were, as uſual, confined within a narrow Compaſs. The Extermination of ſome inconſiderable Septs of Marauders, and the Reduction of the Garriſons in *Meath*, and *Ulſter*, belonging to the Barons *Hugh* and *Walter de Lacy*, are the only Proofs of the victorious Progreſs of his Arms, in *Ireland* (*m*). Even here, at the Head of a powerful Force, he was unable to ſhake off the Timidity of his Nature; and when *Hugh O'Neal*, a petty *Iriſh* Prince, bade Defiance to his Authority, He meanly bore the Inſult, and proceeded quietly on his March through the Territories of a Chief whoſe Allegiance had been as ſolemnly plighted, as it was daringly violated (*n*.) He ſoon afterwards returned (*o*) with his Fleet, and Army to *England*, leaving *John de Grey*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, to act as his Juſticiary.

(*i*) Ann. Innisf. MSS.

(*k*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. I. p. 149.

(*l*) Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 192.

(*m*) Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. I.—Annal. Hibern. apud Camd—Matt. Paris. Hiſt. Angl. Vol. I.—T. Walſingham, Ypodigm. Neuſt.—Leland's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 192. —Speed—Holingſhed.

(*n*) Ann. Innisf. MSS.—Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 192.

(*o*) Auguſt 20, A. D. 1210.

In the Year one Thouſand, two Hundred, and Twelve, the Pope, having pronounced, in a Conſiſtory of Cardinals, the Sentence of Depoſition againſt *John*, intruſted the Execution of it to *Philip Auguſtus* of *France*. This Monarch, allured by the plenary Remiſſion of his Sins; by a formal Bull, inveſting Him, and his Heirs for ever with an abſolute Right, and Title to the Crown of *England*; and, above all, by the Proſpect, howſoever faint, of adding another Kingdom to his Dominions, accepted of the Charge. He levied a powerful Army, and fitted out a Fleet conſiſting of ſeventeen Hundred Sail (*p*), to oppoſe which *John* collected a ſuperior Naval, and Military Force, encamping ſixty thouſand Men on *Barham-Downs*, in *Kent*, and ſtationing his Marine Armaments (which were more conſiderable than any poſſeſſed by the *Engliſh*, at a preceding Æra,) along the Coaſts, ready to defend themſelves againſt their expected Enemies (*q*). Yet a Part of theſe Troops, and Veſſels were afterwards diſmiſſed, as their Number was too great to be conveniently maintained.

The naval Preparations of *Philip* were the earlieſt Efforts towards the Eſtabliſhment of that Marine in *France*, which, increaſed by ſlow, but powerful Degrees, became, at length, able to contend with *England* for the Empire of the Ocean. During the Reigns of the firſt Sovereigns of the third Race who governed that Kingdom, the Sea-ports, and conſequently the Shipping were poſſeſſed by the great Vaſſals of the Crown. Amongſt theſe, the moſt formidable was the King of *England*, who held all the Weſtern Coaſt from the Mouth of the *Somme*, as far as *Spain*, and to preſerve

(*p*) Mezeray, Vol. II. p. 622.
(*q*) Matt. Paris. Vol. I. p. 232.—Nic. Trivet, Annal. p. 157.

ſerve the Intercourſe between his Provinces, and Dominions, was obliged to introduce a conſiderable Marine. The Advantages reſulting from it were ſo apparent to *Philip*, that He conceived a Deſign of obtaining a Navy. Several of the Maritime Provinces having reverted to the Crown, and *Britanny* being alſo in its Intereſt, He availed himſelf of this happy Concurrence of Circumſtances, and gave Orders for the Improvement of Harbours, and the Equipment of Fleets. About the ſame Time, *Euſtace*, a Monk who preferring War, and Plunder, to the Inactivity of the Cloiſter, had engaged in Piracy, ſought the Protection of *Philip*, and preſented to him his Veſſels. Submitting to be directed by this Man, the King was employed, during a whole Year, in fitting out his Armaments. They amounted to ſeventeen Hundred Ships, or rather light Gallies, navigated with Oars. That they were unfit for Action, may be collected from their Numbers, as it was the Practice of that Age to make up in Multitude what was wanting in Strength, and Conveniency. A celebrated *French* Writer (*r*) obſerves that this Fleet conſiſted of Merchant-men of ſmall Burden, with little Ammunition, and yet ſtiled Ships of War. To theſe were added many Tranſports which ſerved only to receive Cargoes; not for Martial Operations; and increaſed the Equipment without rendering it more formidable. They were Barks, and flat-bottomed Boats which carried Proviſions, and Baggage. Such was the Navy deſigned to aſſiſt in the Conqueſt of *England*.

In the mean Time, *John*, by the moſt abject, and unconditional Submiſſion to the Pope, obtained a Reverſal of the Bull; in Conſequence of which *Pandolph*

(*r*) Hiſtoire de la Rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre, par M. Gaillard, Tom. II.

the Legate paſſed over from *England into France*, and forbad *Philip* to proceed on his intended Expedition (*s*). This Prince declared with equal Scorn, and Indignation, that having laid out the immenſe Sum of ſixty Thouſand Pounds, in Preparations for an Enterprize to which He had been inſtigated by the Holy See, He was reſolved that no Menaces ſhould prevail on him to decline it; He complained in the bittereſt Terms of the Duplicity, and Avarice of the Pope, who, engroſſing all the Advantages, had thrown the whole Burden of the Expence on him; and now, that the Proſpect of Succeſs was become certain, had the Effrontery to command him to relinquiſh the Purſuit of it. He added, that it ſhould be ſeen when He had aſſembled his Vaſſals, how little Reſpect would be paid to a Prohibition ſo replete with Hypocriſy and Fraud (*t*).

Accordingly, He ſummoned a Parliament to attend him at *Soiſſons* (*u*), where the Barons of *France*, prompted by a Paſſion for Glory, and Riches, made a Vow to ſupport him in the Enterprize, with their Lives and Fortunes. The Earl of *Flanders* alone (who ſecretly engaged in a Treaty with *John*,) had the Confidence to declare that the Proceedings of *Philip* were impious, and unjuſt (*x*). He was immediately driven from the Court, by Order of the King, who threatened that, of all the Enemies of *France*, He ſhould firſt feel the Violence of Hoſtility.

Eager to execute his Purpoſe, He marched immediately, at the Head of a numerous Army, into the Dominions

(*s*) Matt. Paris. Hiſt. Ang. p. 237.—Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. I. p. 157, 158.—Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle, p. 507.

(*t*) Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. I. p. 160.

(*u*) A. D. 1213.

(*x*) Matt. Paris, p. 166.—Hiſtoire de la Rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre, Tom. II.

nions of this Lord, ſubduing *Caſſel*, *Ypres*, and all the Country, as far as *Bruges*. His Fleet proceeded to *Gravelines*, and from thence to the Haven of *Dam*. Here, it was attacked by the *Engliſh* Navy, conſiſting of five Hundred Sail, under the Command of the Earl of *Saliſbury*, natural Brother to King *John* (*y*). The Action proved fatal to *Philip*: Three Hundred of his Ships were taken; an Hundred more were either ſtranded on the Coaſt, or burned; and He was reduced to the Neceſſity of deſtroying the Reſt to prevent their falling into the Hands of the Eenemy. The only Means left to revenge himſelf of the Earl of *Flanders*, were to ſet Fire to the City of *Dam*; and theſe He effected (*z*). Such was the Fate of the firſt *French* Navy equipped, and ſent to Sea, ſince the Time of *Charlemagne* (*a*).

The King of *England* now appeared determined to purſue his good Fortune, and, in his Turn invade the Territories of *Philip*. Accordingly, He applied to the Barons for their Aſſiſtance to the Enterprize, but was refuſed under the Pretence that their Time of Service was paſt, and all their Proviſions expended (*b*). *John*, who ridiculouſly imagined that if He proceeded on his Voyage, theſe Lords, aſhamed of their Defection, would follow with the neceſſary Equipments, embarked, attended by an inconſiderable Force, and ſailed to *Jerſey* (*c*). Here, He waited to no Purpoſe, and, at laſt returned to *England*, declaring that it was his firm In-

(*y*) A. D. 1213.

(*z*) Matt. Paris. p. 166.—Chron. Dunſt. Vol. I. p. 59. —Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. I. p. 157.

(*a*) Hiſtoire de la Rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre, Tom. II.

(*b*) Matt. Paris, p. 166.

(*c*) Ibid. A. C. 1213.

tention to chaſtiſe his diſobedient Subjects. But the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, a Confederate of the Nobles, forbad him to think of an inteſtine War; and ſo terrified him with Denunciations of the Papal Vengeance, if He perſiſted in this Reſolution, whilſt the Kingdom was expoſed to the Sentence of an Interdict, that He promiſed to abandon the Attempt (*d*).

In the following Year, the King fitted out a powerful Fleet, and embarking at *Portſmouth*, in the Month of *February*, with his Army, landed at *Rochelle*, paſſed over to *Poictou*, penetrated into *Anjou*, and croſſed the *Loire*. Whilſt He was beſieging a Caſtle, an Information was brought that Prince *Lewis*, the Son of *Philip*, and *Henry Clement*, Marſhal of *France*, were advancing, from no conſiderable Diſtance, at the Head of a large Body of Troops, to give him Battle. The Timidity of *John* was inſtantly alarmed, and without waiting a ſingle Moment for the Enemy, he repaſſed the *Loire* with the utmoſt Precipitation and Diſorder, leaving on the other Side of the River, his Tents, Baggage, military Machines, and a Part of his Forces who were either cut to Pieces, or drowned (*e*). About the ſame Time, a deciſive Victory was obtained by *Philip*, at *Bovines*, over the Emperor *Otho*, who had invaded *France*, with an Hundred and fifty Thouſand *Germans*. On this Occaſion, the Provinces of *Poictou*, and *Anjou* declared in Favour of the Conqueror, to whom the faithleſs *Poictevins* would probably have delivered *John*, if, by acceding to a diſhonourable Truce, He had not preſerved his Liberty. When this was concluded, He returned (*f*) ignominiouſly

(*d*) Matt. Paris, p. 167.

(*e*) Daniel.—Hiſtoire de la Mil. Franc.—Hiſtoire de la Rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre, Tom. II.

(*f*) November, A. D. 1214.

ignominiouſly with his Fleet, and the Remains of his Army to *England* (*g*).

This was the laſt foreign Expedition undertaken by the King. The Reſt of his Reign was one continued Scene of civil War, in which no Naval Circumſtance occurs, except the Equipment of a Fleet, conſiſting of ſix Hundred, and Ten Ships, by his formidable Rival, *Philip*. The Place of Rendezvous was at *Calais*, where Prince *Lewis* of *France*, appointed to the Command, arrived, and ſailed with it for *England*. He firſt deſigned to land the Forces, at *Stanhore*, in the *Iſle* of *Thanet*; but not perceiving any Preparations to oppoſe them, He proceeded to *Sandwich*, and there diſembarking, was immediately joined by the Barons, and ſeveral of the foreign Troops in the Pay of *John* (*h*). At this dangerous Criſis, the King raiſed a conſiderable Army, with which He advanced to repel the Enemy, and make a final Struggle for his Crown. In his Progreſs from *Norfolk*, into *Lincolnſhire*, He was obliged to march along the Sea-ſhore; and here, neglecting to retire at the Time of High-water, He was ſurprized by the Tides, which ſwallowed up all his Carriages, Baggage, Treaſure, Regalia, and a Part of his Forces (*i*). This afflicting Stroke, by increaſing the Violence of a Diſtemper under which He then laboured, ſoon brought him to the Grave. It was with Difficulty that He reached the Caſtle of *Newark*, where He expired in the Forty-ninth Year of his Age, and the eighteenth of his Reign (*k*).

Whilſt

(*g*) Chronique Abregè des Rois de France, p. 79.---Mezeray, T. 2. p. 625.---Hiſtoire de la Rivalite de la France, et de l'Angleterre, T. 2.---Rigord.

(*h*) A. D. 1216.---Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. I. p. 165, 166. ---Matt. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. p. 281.---Mezeray, Vol. II. p. 269.

(*i*) Matt. Paris. Hiſt. Angl. p. 287.

(*k*) Nic. Trivet. Annal. V. 1. p. 166.---Matt. Paris Hiſt. Angl. p. 288.—Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle, p. 512. 513.—A. D. 1216.

Whilſt We abhor the general Conduct of this flagitious Prince, it muſt not be denied that the Support of the Marine, and the Increaſe of Commerce, were the frequent Objects of his Attention. Here, let us conclude the Character :—To inquire farther is too painful a Tax upon the Feelings of Humanity (*l*).

The prudent and ſpirited Conduct of the Earl of *Pembroke*, Mareſchal of *England*, ſecured the Throne for the young Prince *Henry*, whom He led immediately to *Glouceſter*, where, in the Preſence of *Gualo*, the Legate, and a ſmall Number of the Peers of the Realm, He was Crowned by the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Bath*, on the Twenty-eighth of *October*, in the Year one Thouſand, two Hundred, and Sixteen (*m*).

The *French*, under the Command of the Count of *Perche*, having reduced *Lincoln*, *Pembroke* (appointed Protector of the Realm) haſtened with a conſiderable Force to the Aſſiſtance of the Royaliſts. On his Arrival, the Enemy withdrew into the City, and prepared for their Defence (*n*). Here, they were immediately attacked by the Beſiegers, who, mounting the Walls,

(*l*) A Naval Hiſtorian * who, in the glaringly partial Vindication of *John*, hath apologized for his Vices, and aſcribed to him the Virtues which he did not practiſe, draws a Parallel between his ignominious Retreat to the Iſle of *Wight*, and the neceſſary Retirement of *Alfred* (the moſt accompliſhed Monarch who ever ſat upon the Throne of *England*,) into the Iſle of *Athelney*. The Subjects of *John*, who had too much Reaſon to differ from this Panegyriſt, with greater Juſtice, compared the Tyrant to the Emperor *Tiberius*, in the Iſland of *Capreæ*.

* See Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. I. p. 152.

(*m*) Matt Paris Hiſt. Angl. p. 200.—Hemingf. p. 562.—Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 168.—Holinſhed.—T. Wikes.—Ann Waverl.

(*n*) Chron. Dunſt. Vol. I. p. 81.

Walls, entered the Place, Sword in Hand, bearing down all Oppoſition, and, ſcarcely with any Bloodſhed, obtaining a compleat Victory (*o*). Only the Count of *Perche*, and two Others were killed. The Reſt, and, amongſt theſe, above four Hundred Knights, and Officers of Rank ſurrendered at diſcretion (*p*). The Spoils ſeized by the Conquerors were ſo Numerous and Valuable, that they called the Battle by which they were thus cheaply acquired, *Lincoln Fair*. We have briefly mentioned this Victory as it decided the Fate of the Kingdom. Prince *Lewis*, on the firſt Intelligence of an Event ſo alarming to his Hopes, judged it prudent to raiſe the Siege of *Dover* (where he had been powerfully oppoſed by the brave *Hubert de Burgh*, Governor of the Caſtle) and retreat to *London*. The News which reached him at this Metropolis convinced him that his Cauſe was Deſperate, and thenceforward he reſolved to obtain a Peace on any Terms compatible with his Honour.

A *French* Fleet conſiſting of Eighty ſtrong Ships, and ſeveral Tranſports appeared off the Coaſt of *Kent* (*q*), where ſome of the Troops diſembarked, and reduced *Sandwich* to Aſhes. In the mean Time, the *Cinque Ports* drew together a Naval Force, which, although but half equal to that of the Enemy, ventured out to the Attack, under the joint Command of *Hubert de Burgh*, *John Marſhall*, and *Philip de Albanie*. The *Engliſh*, having fortunately gained the Wind of the *French*, bore violently down upon them, and throwing a Quantity of powdered Quick-lime into the Air, took the Advantage of their being blinded by it, to gall them with their

(*o*) June 14, A. D. 1217.

(*p*) Matt. Paris. Hiſt. Angl. p. 204, 205.—Chron. de Mailr. p. 195.

(*q*) A. D. 1217.

their Arrows. Purſuing their Succeſs, they, at length, reſolutely boarded them, ſlaying with their Swords, and Lances, Multitudes of the Soldiers; and ſo intimidating Others that they precipitated themſelves into the Sea, and were all drowned. Of the Ships, moſt were either ſunk, or taken; and amongſt the Priſoners was the famous *Euſtace*, (whom we have before mentioned (*r*), in this Engagement, a frequent Deſerter from Side to Side. He would have purchaſed Life with an enormous Sum of Gold; but *Richard*, a natural Son of King *John*, impelled by the ſavage Ferocity ſo peculiar to the Conquerors in earlier Times, became his Executioner, and cutting off his Head, ſent it as a Preſent to the King of *England* (*s*), who gave Orders that it ſhould be fixed upon a Pole, and carried as a Public Spectacle of Infamy, throughout the Iſland (*t*).

After this Victory, the Fleet proceeded to the Mouth of the *Thames*, and preventing all Communication between the Army of *Lewis*, and his Ships, reduced that Prince, already abandoned by the *Engliſh* Nobles, to the Neceſſity of ſuing to the Earl of *Pembroke* for Peace. A celebrated *French* writer (*u*) hath obſerved that, in this Treaty the Law was dictated, and not received by *Lewis*. It is like the haughtily preſcribing Conqueror, to ſubmit to a Departure from the Kingdom, and, in Return, aſk only for an Indemnity to his Adherents; the Reſtoration of their Eſtates, and Honours: together with the uninterrupted, and equal Enjoyment of thoſe

(*r*) Page 101.

(*s*) Matt. Paris. Hiſt. Angl. p. 206.—Annal. Waverl. p. 183.—W. Heming, p 563.—Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 169.—M. Weſtmon. p. 277.—Knyghton, p. 2428.—Thom. Walſingham. Ypodigm. Neuſtr.—Selden Mare Clauſum.

(*t*) Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. I. p. 169.

(*u*) Eſſais ſur Paris.

thoſe Privileges, and Liberties, acceded to all the other Subjects of the Crown (*x*)? It is more than probable that ſo politic a Regent as *Pembroke* would have granted the Amneſty to the rebellious Barons, without the Interpoſition of *Lewis*. He would, not compulſively, but of his own Accord, have buried, for the Sake of the public Tranquility, all Animoſities in Oblivion: And as to the Conſervation of the Rights claimed by the *Engliſh*, in general, and the Citizens of *London*, in particular, that would have been eſtabliſhed, although the Prince had even ſurrendered at Diſcretion. Where are We to meet with thoſe Articles of Capitulation which ſhould prove that in the Scale of Advantages the Balance inclined to *Lewis*? Had He acquired the Aſcendant, He certainly would have ſtipulated either for a Reimburſement of his Expences in proſecuting the War, or a Grant of ſome Portion of Dominion. Yet of this We have no Record; and it is yet evident, in ſpite of Miſrepreſentation (*y*), that it was equally the Intereſt of *Lewis* to make Peace with *Henry*, as of *Henry* to make Peace with *Lewis*. We are informed (*z*) that the *Engliſh* dreaded to take the Prince of *France*, almoſt as much as He could have feared being taken; and were too apprehenſive that ſuch a Proceeding would draw down upon them the whole Force of *Philip*, to put it to the Hazard. Surely, it may be inferred that *Lewis*, happy to quit the Territories of a Victorious Enemy, on any Conditions not abſolutely diſgraceful, and thus ſecure the Safety of his Perſon, was more intereſted

(*x*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 1. p. 221.—Matt. Paris. Hiſt. Angl. p. 207.—Chron. Dunſt. Vol. 1. p. 83.—Matt. Weſtmon. p. 278.—Knyghton, p. 2429.

(*y*) Hiſtoire de la Rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre, par M. Galliard, T. 2. p. 331.

(*z*) Ibid.

ed in the Treaty than *Henry*, at eaſe during this Period, and firmly eſtabliſhed on the Throne. The preceeding Naval Succeſſes of the *Engliſh* againſt double the Number of the *French* were evident Demonſtrations that no Circumſtance, except an inteſtine Tumult, could have rendered an Invaſion, even *by the whole Force of Philip*, of the leaſt Avail; that He and his Son concurred in theſe Sentiments is manifeſt from their not having attempted to renew the Enterprize. I may, perhaps, appear to wander far from my Subject; but when falſe Concluſions are drawn by two Hiſtorians who, in other Reſpects, are candid to an Extreme, it is of dangerous Tendency that they ſhould paſs unnoticed.

In the Year one Thouſand, two Hundred, and Eighteen, a Fleet was fitted out by *Ranulph*, Earl of *Cheſter*; *Saer* de *Quincey*, Earl of *Winchelſea*; *William d' Albiney*, Earl of *Arundel*; and ſeveral of the Barons; who, with a numerous Force, were directed by *Henry* to proceed to the *Holy Land*, and wage War againſt the *Infidels* (*a*)

In four Years afterwards, a formidable Armament conſiſting of ſeven Hundred Sail, commanded by the Earl of *Saliſbury*, Uncle to the King, together with his brother *Richard*, not long before created Earl of *Cornwall*, appeared off *Bourdeaux*, where the Troops immediately landed. The warlike Operations of either Party were of little conſequence; and it is ſufficient to remark that theſe Princes, having ſtayed two Years, in *Guienne*, came back to *England*.

The next Naval, and military Cruſade (*b*) was intruſted

(*a*) Matt. Paris, p. 303.—Annal. Waverl. p. 184.—T. Walſingham. Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 463.—Nic. Trivet, Annal. Vol. I. p. 171.

(*b*) A. D. 1227.

truſted to *Peter des Roches*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *William Brewer*, Biſhop of *Exeter*, who were attended by forty thouſand *Engliſhmen*, moſt of whom are ſuppoſed not to have returned to their native Country (*c*).

Anxious to recover the Provinces in *France*, of which his Father *John* had been deprived by *Philip Auguſtus*, the King, who could not through Intreaties obtain the Reſtoration of them from *Lewis*, prepared to ſeize upon them forcibly. An Army levied for the Purpoſe, from *England*, *Ireland*, *Scotland* and *Wales*, and more formidable than had as yet been ſeen, aſſembled at *Portſmouth*, where *Henry* was ready to take the Command, and embark. The Naval Equipments, either owing to Neglect or Deſign, were found, on Inquiry, too inconſiderable to receive them; and, therefore, the Enterprize was poſtponed until the enſuing Spring (*d*), when the Sovereign and his troops proceeded to *Saint Maloes* (*e*), where, on their landing, they were received by the Earl of *Bretagne*, who gave up to *Henry* the Poſſeſſion of his Garriſons, and Caſtles.

This inglorious Monarch, far from purſuing a Campaign which opened ſo advantageouſly, engaged in the moſt expenſive Parties of Pleaſure at *Nantes*; whilſt the *French*, unreſiſted, carried their Conqueſts into *Bretagne*. The *Normans* and the *Poictevins* endeavoured, but in vain, to rouſe the Inactivity of *Henry*, and declared themſelves in Readineſs to aſſiſt his military Operations, from the Moment of his Appearance to conduct them. The King proceeded reluctantly to *Poictou*, where the Caſtle of *Mirabeau* immediately ſurrendered to

(*c*) Hackluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 31, 38.

(*d*) A. D. 1229.

(*e*) May 3.—Matt. Paris. Hiſt. Angl. p. 363.—Ann. Waverl.—T. Wikes.—Holingſhed, Vol. II. p. 211.—Tyrrel, Vol. II. p. 867.

to him. From thence, He marched into *Guienne*, and received the Homage of his Barons. His warlike Ardour was now exhauſted, and He returned to the Enjoyment of his Diverſions at *Nantes*, where the Officers, and even the common Soldiers, imitating his Profuſion, diſpoſed of their Arms and Horſes, and ſquandered away the Money in Feaſting, and Debauchery. The *French* who, profiting by the Supineneſs of *Henry*, had added a conſiderable Reinforcement to their Troops, approached with an Intention to attack him. The Probability of a Battle was to the *Engliſh* as terrible as the Reality: They fled with Precipitation to their Ships, from which they landed, amidſt the Public Scorn, and Indignation, at *Portſmouth*, after a diſgraceful Abſence of five Months, all paſſed in one continued Act of Cowardice, and Diſſipation (*f*).

In the Year one Thouſand, two Hundred, and Thirty-one, the Fleet, commanded by *Peter des Roches*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, returned from the *Holy Land*. This Prelate diſembarked in great Pomp, and entered, with a ſolemn Proceſſion, into the Capital of his Dioceſe (*g*).

The earlieſt Naval Preparations from this Period, were made (*h*) by *Richard*, Earl of *Cornwall*, and *John*, Earl of *Saliſbury*, the Brother and the Uncle to the King, together with ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction. Their great Object was to aſſiſt the *Chriſtians* in their War againſt the *Infidels* in *Syria*. They were ſoon reinforced by a powerful Armament under the joint Command of *Simon de Montfort*, Earl of *Leiceſter*, and *John*, Earl

(*f*) Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. 1. p. 183.—H. Knyghton, p. 2439.—T. Wikes, p. 41.——Tyrrel, Vol. II. p. 870.

(*g*) Hackluyt's Voyages, Part II.

(*h*) A. D. 1240.

Earl of *Albemarle*. Thus united, their Enterprizes were frequent, and victorious (*i*).

Henry, having formed, at the Inſtigation of his Father-in-law, the Count *de la Marche*, a Project for reducing *Gaſcony* to Subjection, extorted the neceſſary Succours from his equally oppreſſed, and diſcontented People. The Fleet, and a ſmall Number of Troops being ready, he ſailed with them from *Portſmouth* (*k*), and landed ſoon afterwards at *Xaintonge*, where He was joined by his Ally. Here, as uſual, the Enterprizes of *Henry* were marked by Misfortune, and Diſgrace. He was overcome at *Taillebourg*; abandoned by his Confederates; ſtripped of his reigning Provinces in *Poictou*; and at length compelled to return into *England*, without having performed the leaſt Exploit of Conſequence ſufficient to ſecure him from the Murmurs of his Subjects (*l*).

At this unhappy Æra, the Naval Force of *England* was ſo exceſſively reduced, that the *Cinque Ports*, too defenceleſs to contend againſt the *Normans*, and *Britons*, applied for Succour to other maritime Towns, which, at the Acceſſion of *Henry*, had rendered an eſſential Service to the Kingdom (*m*). The Depredations of the Pirates (amongſt whom were Subjects of great Rank,) had alſo riſen to an alarming Height; nor was their Inſolence ſo effectually checked as might have been imagined by the Execution of *William Marſhall*, their Chief, and of the noble Houſe of *Pembroke*. This daring Adventurer, who had fortified the ſmall

(*i*) Holingſhed.
(*k*) May 14, A. D. 1242.
(*l*) Matt. Paris. Hiſt. Angl. p. 393, 394, 398, 399, 405.---W. Hemingf. p. 574.---Chron. Dunſt. Vol. I. p. 153.---Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. I. p. 194.---Grafton, p. 124.---Fabian, p. 50, 51.
(*m*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. I. p. 160.

Iſland of *Lundy*, near the Mouth of the *Severn*, became ſo much a Terror to the adjacent Coaſts, that the Inhabitants implored the King to ſend a Squadron to their Aſſiſtance. Accordingly, ſome Ships were fitted out, by Means of which *Marſhall* was taken, and conveyed to *London*, where He was tried, and ſentenced to loſe his Life. The Puniſhment, notwithſtanding the Rank of the Offender, was immediately inflicted (*n*).

The pecuniary Grants which *Henry* had obtained from his Parliament, although requeſted to ſupport the Expence of a Cruſade, were laid out in Preparations to reduce the *Gaſcons*, encouraged in their Rebellion, by *Alphonſo*, King of *Caſtile* (*o*). When the Fleet, conſiſting of three Hundred Ships, beſides Tranſports (*p*) was entirely equipped, *Henry* repaired to *Portſmouth*, and embarking, with his Army, on the Sixth of *Auguſt*, in the Year one Thouſand, two Hundred, and Fifty-three, arrived, after a Paſſage of nine Days, at *Bourdeaux*. It is ſufficient to remark that, differently from the general Reſult of his Meaſures, He was not unſucceſsful: But the prodigious Debt contracted on this Occaſion, by Himſelf and his Nobles, ſerved only to inflame their Diſcontents, and expoſe him to a greater Danger from their Enterprizes (*q*). To avoid a tedious Paſſage on the Sea, He directed the Fleet to ſail, and wait for his Arrival at *Boulogne*. To this City, He proceeded, (by the Permiſſion of *Lewis*,) with a numerous Retinue, through *France*; but not until He had been magnificently entertained, during eight Days at *Paris*.

(*n*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 160.---Holingſhed, p. 230.---Matt. Paris. Hiſt. Angl. p. 584.

(*o*) Matt. Paris. Hiſt. Angl.---Ann. Burton.---Ann. Waverl.---T. Wikes.

(*p*) Holingſhed.

(*q*) Matt. Paris. Hiſt. Angl. p. 614.

Paris (*r*). He reached *England* on the Firſt of *January*, in the following Year (*s*).

The next Event immediately relating to our Subject appears to border upon Fable, and is mentioned by only two Hiſtorians, *Ralph Holingſhed*, and *Matthew* (a *Benedictine* Monk,) of *Weſtminſter*. We preſent it to the Reader in the Words of the Former: "About this "Seaſon (*t*), were certain Ships driven by Force of "Wind, and Weather, into certain Havens, on the "North Coaſts of *England*, towards *Berwick*, which "Ships were of a very ſtrange Form, and Faſhion, "but mighty and ſtrong. The Men that were "aboard the ſame Ships were of ſome far Country, for "their Language was unknown, and not underſtand-"able to any Man that could be brought to talk with "them. The Freight, and Ballaſt of the Ships were "Armour, and Weapons, as Habergeons (*u*), Hel-"mets, Spears, Bows, Arrows, Croſs-bows, and "Darts, with great Store of Victuals. There lay alſo, "without the Havens, on the Coaſts, diverſe other "Ships of like Form, Mold, and Faſhion. Thoſe "that were driven into the Havens were ſtayed for a "Time by the Bailiffs of the Ports. But finally when "it could not be known what they were, nor from

 "whence

(*r*) At a royal Banquet, given by *Lewis*, that Prince would ſo have placed *Henry*, that the King of *France* ſhould have been ſeated on the Right, and the King of *Navarre* on his Left-hand. But the *Engliſh* Monarch was determined not to conſent to it, and ſaid to *Lewis*, "*It belongs to You alone* "*to occupy a Place which is to regulate the Precedence amongſt* "*Kings; for You are my Lord, and always ſhall be ſuch.*"--- Hiſtoire de la Rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre, par Monſieur Galliard, V. 3. p. 2.

(*s*) A. D. 1255.

(*t*) A. D. 1254.

(*u*) The *Habergeon* was a Body-armour, compoſed of Leather, and fenced with Iron, or Braſs-croſlets.

" whence they came, they were licenſed to depart, " without Loſs, or Harm, in Body, or Goods."

Few of the ſucceeding Circumſtances of this diſgraceful Reign are within the Province of a Naval Hiſtory. Amongſt thoſe which appear to be the moſt material is the Equipment of a Fleet by the *Cinque Ports* (*x*), who joined the Barons then at War with *Henry*, and pleaded in their Vindication that the Expreſſion, in their Charter (*y*), *for the Service of the King*, was to be interpreted for

(*x*) A. D. 1261.

(*y*) As the Privileges of the *Cinque Ports* were conſiderably augmented by *Richard* the Firſt, and *Henry* the Third, in Order that they might be the more enabled to increaſe their Services to the State, it cannot appear improper to preſent the Reader with a Tranſlation of the Latin *Cuſtumal*, or Record of the Town of *Hith*, as it ſtood at this Period.----See Hackluyt, Part I. p. 17.

Record of *Hith*.

Theſe are the five Ports of our Sovereign Lord the King, having Liberties which are not enjoyed by any other Ports: to wit, *Haſtings*, *Romenal*, *Hith*, *Dover*, and *Sandwich*.

The Services due by the Same.

Haſtings ſhall find twenty-one Ships; and in every Ship twenty-one Men, and a Boy. The Members of this Port are the Seaſhore in *Seaforth*, *Pevenſhey*, *Howeny*, *Winchelſea*, *Rye*, *Thame*, *Bekeſbourne*, *Grenge*, *Northie*, and *Bulwerheth*.

Romenal ſhall find five Ships, and the ſame Number of Men as are to be found by *Haſtings*. The Members of this Port are *Promhell*, *Lede*, *Eaſtweſtone*, *Dengemerys*, and *Old Romney*.

Hith ſhall find the ſame Number of Ships, and Men as are to be found by *Romenal*. The Member of this Port is *Weſt-Hith*.

Dover ſhall find the ſame Number of Ships, and Men as are to be found by *Haſtings*. The Members of this Port are *Folkeſtone*, *Feverſham*, and *Saint Margarets*, not for the Land, but for the Goods and Chattels,

Sandwich ſhall find the ſame Number of Ships, and Men, as are to be found by *Romenal* and *Hith*. The Members of this

for the Service of the Kingdom. This, in their Opinion, was beſt promoted by deſerting the royal Cauſe, and guarding the Coaſts to prevent the Arrival of any foreign Armaments for the Support of *Henry*. Their Navy amounted to fifty ſeven Sail, with which the Commanders, forgetful of the great Purpoſe of their Enterprize, attempted to ſeize indiſcriminately, on all Ships, whether belonging to Aliens, or to Fellow-Subjects; and thus, the Public Welfare was meanly ſacrificed to the Conſiderations of private Intereſt. Allured by the Proſpect of Plunder, *Simon de Montfort*, (who having ſurrendered, with other Rebels, at *Axholme*, was pardoned on the Condition of leaving *England*,) attached himſelf to the Pirates of the *Cinque Ports*, and was choſen to command their Fleet. The Merchantmen of every Nation were expoſed to their Attacks, and generally rifled. At length (z), emboldened by Succeſs, they, to revenge the Deaths of ſome of their Aſſociates who had been hanged, by the Command of *Henry*, reduced *Portſmouth* to Aſhes. Theſe

this Port are *Fordwich*, *Reculver*, *Serre* and *Deal*; not for Soil, but for the Goods.

The Ships are in Number Fifty-ſeven; the Men one Thouſand, one Hundred, and Eighty-ſeven; the Boys Fifty-ſeven.

This Service the Barons of the *Cinque Ports* do acknowledge to owe to the King, upon Summons, Yearly, (if it happen,) for the ſpace of Fifteen Days together, at their own Coſts, and Charges, to be reckoned from the Firſt Day they ſpread their Sails to depart for the Place appointed by the King: and to ſerve after the fifteen Days, at the Pleaſure of the King, He paying them.

A more ancient Record mentions only five Days Service, upon forty Days previous Notice, and that they were to pay the Maſter, and Conſtable, ſix Pence per Diem each, and the Mariners Three-pence.—See Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, Vol. I. p. 31.

(z) November 25, A. D. 1266.

Adventurers were afterwards quelled by Prince *Edward* (*a*) whoſe Squadron engaged ſome Ships belonging to the Harbour of *Winchelſea*. In this Action, Numbers were either killed, or drowned, and *Henry de Pehune*, their chief Commander, taken Priſoner (*b*). The Others, wrought upon by Perſuaſions, returned to their Duty, on the Conditions of a general Pardon, and the full Ratification of all the former Privileges of the *Cinque Ports* (*c*).

In the Year one Thouſand, two Hundred, and Seventy, the Navy was ſo miſerably reduced, that Prince *Edward* could only collect thirteen Ships to eſcort the Troops (on this Account, confined to one Thouſand Men,) under his Command, to the holy Wars againſt the *Saracens* (*d*). Theſe Infidels, unable to withſtand the Valour of *Edward*, in the Field, employed an Aſſaſſin to diſpatch him with a poiſoned Knife. The Villain failed in his Attempt, (although he wounded the Prince ſlightly in the Arm,) and was killed upon the Spot (*e*).

The Plague, to which the King of *France*, and one of his Sons had juſt before fallen a Sacrifice, began to rage in the *Engliſh* Army, and ſwept away great Numbers. This Misfortune, added to the Want of the neceſſary

(*a*) Eod. Ann.

(*b*) Annal. Waverl. p. 221.—Gul. Riſhanger. Contin. Hiſt. Angl. p. 1004.

(*c*) About this Period, *Thomas de Moleton* was appointed Captain, and Conſervator of the Sea, and Maritime Ports.

(*d*) Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. I. p. 229.—T. Walſingham. Ypodigm. Neuſtr. p. 471.—Chronica de Mailros, p. 241.

(*e*) W. Heming. p. 520.—Matt. Paris. p. 678, 679.—Annal. Waverl. p. 225, 226.—Gul. Biſhanger in Cont. Hiſt. Angl. p. 1007.—Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. I. p. 232.—Hackluyt, Vol. II. p. 36.

neceſſary Supplies for the Continuance of the War prevailed on *Edward* to accept of the Truce propoſed by the Sultan (*f*). Immediately after the Ratification of it, He embarked with the Remains of his Army, for *England*, and had approached the Coaſt of *Sicily*, when he received Advice that *Henry* was no more. Weighed down by public Cares, and natural Infirmities, He had expired at *Saint Edmondſbury*, in the Sixty-fourth Year of his Age, and the Fifty-ſixth of his Reign.

In the Naval, as in the Military Department, the Weakneſs, Diſſipation, Negligence, and Timidity of *Henry* were fatally conſpicuous. At his Death, the Maritime Importance of the Kingdom drew near to its Decline; and might entirely have fallen, if a Prince leſs bold, and vigilant in accompliſhing its Recovery than *Edward*, had ſucceeded to the Throne.

Before we enter upon the *Engliſh* Æra, it may be neceſſary to introduce ſome ſhort Remarks concerning the Navigation, and Trade of the *Normans*.

The largeſt of all the Veſſels conſtructed, at this Period, were called *Buccas*, or *Burciis*. Carrying three Sails, they were more ſerviceable than the Others, which are deſcribed by the *Norman* Hiſtorians as furniſhed only with a ſingle Sail. A laborious Antiquary (*g*) hath not been able, amidſt all his Reſearches to diſcover, either from writen Teſtimonies, or any Delineation whatſoever, the true Form of the *Bucca*, or wherein it differed, except in its three Sails, from other large Ships; neither can He determine whether theſe Sails were all on one, or divided on ſeparate Maſts.

The next largeſt Veſſels were diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Naves Onerariæ*, or Veſſels of Burden.

(*f*) A. D. 1272.

(*g*) Strutt's Shipping, and Naval Affairs of the Normans, Vol. II. p. 10.

After theſe, were reckoned the *Carikes*, or *Hulkes* (*h*).

The *Gallies* were of two Sorts; the One navigated with Sails, and Oars; the Other, with Oars alone (*i*). *Roger de Hoveden*, in his Deſcription of the Landing of *Richard* the Firſt, at *Cyprus*, obſerves that He quitted the great Ships, and entered the Boats, and Gallies, which were rowed to Shore with great Violence (*k*). The Former of theſe, frequently called *Galiones* (*l*), were larger than the Laſt, which were ſometimes of a ſufficient Size to carry ſixty heavy-armed Soldiers, excluſive of an hundred, and four Rowers, together with the Mariners (*m*). Several of theſe Veſſels were furniſhed with triple Banks of Oars, placed, in the ancient Manner, over each other. We learn from *Geoffry de Vineſauf* that the only Ships of War then in uſe were *Gallies*; and that the Veſſel called by the *Romans*, *Liburna*, was, in his Time, named a *Galley*; being long, narrow, and low built.

When *Richard* the Firſt had conquered *Cyprus*, the Number of his Gallies lying within a Port belonging to that Iſland, amounted to an Hundred, incluſive of five which He had taken from the *Cypriots*. A Fleet ſo fine, and

(*h*) Ibid.—Holingſhed.

(*i*) This appears from the following Lines in an old where it is recorded of *Richard* the Firſt, that

" Were the Maryners glad, or wrothe,
" He made them ſyle, and row bothe,
" That the Galley geyde ſo ſwyfte,
" So doth the Fowle by the lyfte."

M. S. apud. Bib. Harlianiæ inſig. 5690.

(*k*) Exierunte Magnis Navibus in Naviculas, et Galeas, et remigando venepunt ad Terram, &c. Hoveden, 393, B.

(*l*) Galeias noſtras, et Galiones, (Matt. Paris, p. 263.) *Galiones*, i. e. Grandiores Galeiæ, ab Italieo Galeone; a *Gallion*, ex Gloſs, in Matt. Paris.

(*m*) Strutt's Shipping, and Naval Affairs of the Normans, Vol. II. p. 10.

and properly equipped, had never been obſerved before. *Richard*, at his Departure from the Harbour of *Meſſina*, in *Sicily*, was attended by an Hundred, and Fifty large Tranſports, beſides the abovementioned Gallies. All theſe had been collected from the Navy of *England*, *Normandy*, *Poictou*, and his other maritime Territories. A noble Author (*n*) obſerves that, probably, moſt of the Gallies were built before the Death of *Henry* the Second, as they could not otherwiſe have been ready to put to Sea in ſo ſhort a Time after. Of theſe, Fifty were *Triremes* (*o*), or Gallies of three Rows of Oars; and, amongſt the other Ships, Thirteen, each of which carried three Maſts, were diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Buſſes*. It is preſumed that the more numerous Fleets mentioned at an earlier Period of the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, conſiſted of Veſſels much ſmaller than theſe belonging to *Richard* (*p*).

The *Barcæ* were, probably, flat-bottomed Boats (*q*), and appear to have been chiefly uſed on ſwift Currents, to eſcort the Troops to the Shore. Beſides theſe, were the *Naviculæ*, or ſmall Craft (*r*).

In the common ſailing Ship, (which, moſt probably, was decked over,) the Head, and Stern ſeem to differ but very little in Form; a Circumſtance which hath induced a learned Antiquarian to infer (*s*) that, if it had not

(*n*) Lord Littleton's Second Book of the Hiſtory of the Life of King Henry the Second.

(*o*) Manuſcript Chronicle of the Age of Henry the Third, quoted by Spelman in his Gloſſary, under the word *Buſſa*.

(*p*) Lord Littleton's Second Book of the Hiſtory of the Life of King Henry the Second.—Galfr. de Vino Salvo. C. 35. c. 12.—Hoveden, P. 2. f. 393.

(*q*) Multas Naves cum quadam Barca, Matt. Paris. p. 264.

(*r*) Strutt's Shipping and Naval Affairs of the Normans, V. 2. p. 10.

(*s*) Ibid.

not been for the Rudder, which was faſtened by a Ring to the hinder Side of the Veſſel, it might, indiſcriminately, have ſailed either way. The Shrouds proceeded from the Top of the Maſt, and were fixed below to the Head, and Stern of the Veſſel; over the Side of which, and near to the Stern, the Anchor lay.

The Ships of War, or Gallies were furniſhed with a Piece of Wood affixed to the Prow, and deſigned to ſtrike, and pierce the Veſſels of their Adverſaries. By the *Anglo-Normans* it was called *a Spur*, and by the Ancients a *Roſtrum* (*t*), On board of each was a cramp Iron, ſomewhat reſembling an Anchor, with which, during an Engagement, the Veſſel of the Enemy was drawn cloſe abreaſt, and, in this Situation, the two Parties contended for the Victory, Hand to Hand. Such was the laſt Scene of Action: The Firſt opened at a moderate Diſtance from the Foe, againſt whom the Aſſailants ſhot Arrows, either headed with Phials full of Quick-lime (*u*), or charged with ſome combuſtible Matter, previouſly lighted for the double Purpoſe of more dreadfully wounding the Men, and conſuming the Rigging of the Ships (*x*). The ſmaller Gallies, being ſhort, and conſequently moved with greater Eaſe, were uſed for the Purpoſe of ſcattering a Kind of wild-fire amongſt the Enemy.

The following Particulars, relating to a Sea-fight, near the City of *Ptolemais*, will furniſh the Reader with a com-

(*t*) Galfr. de Vino Salvo.—Matt. Paris, 251.—Lord Littleton's Second Book of the Hiſtory of the Life of King Henry the Second.

(*u*) Et Phialas plenas Calce, Arcubus per parva Haſtilia ad modum Sagittarum ſuper Hoſtes Jaculandas.—Matt. Paris, p. 1091.

(*x*) Miſſimus igitur ſuper eos *Spicula Ignita*.—Ibid.—Strutt's Offenſive Weapons of the Normans, V. 1. p. 98.—See this Work, Page 107.



An Engagement between two Gallies under the Norman Arm.



Jn. Dodge Sculp.

A Norman iron prowed Galley.

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a competent Idea of the Naval Operations purſued during the Time of *Richard* the Firſt (*y*). As the *Turkiſh* and the *Chriſtian* Fleets approached to the Engagement, the Latter were arranged in the Form of a Creſcent, in order that the Enemy, when attempting to paſs the Extremities, might be incloſed within it, and conſequently overpowered. In the Front of the Creſcent were ſtationed the ſtrongeſt of the *Chriſtian* Gallies, prepared either vigorouſly to begin, or to repel the Attack. On the upper Deck of each Galley, the Soldiers, having their Bucklers cloſely joined, were diſpoſed in a Circle. On the lower Deck the Rowers ſat all together, to prevent the Men appointed to fight above from being incommoded during the Action, which began, on both Sides, by a general Diſcharge of Stones, and Arrows. Immediately afterwards, the *Chriſtians* rowed ſwiftly on, and with the Spurs, or Beaks of their Gallies gave a violent Shock to the Veſſels of the *Turks*; from this, they proceeded to cloſe Fighting; the oppoſite Oars were mixed, and entangled together; they faſtened the Gallies to each other by grappling Irons thrown out on both Sides; and fired the Planks with a Species of burning Oil, commonly called *Greek Wildfire*. Of this Preparation, it is obſerved (*z*) that *with a pernicious Stench, and livid Flames, it conſumes even Flint, and Iron: nor can it be extinguiſhed by Water; but by ſprinkling Sand upon it the Violence of it may be abated; and Vinegar poured upon it will put it out* (*a*).

This

(*y*) Galfr. de Vino Salvo.—Lord Littleton's Second Book of the Hiſtory of the Life of King Henry the Second.

(*z*) Ibid. Ibid.

(*a*) If this Account be true, Mr. *Lediard* *, the ingenious Author of a Naval Hiſtory, moſt probably miſtakes, when

* Vol. I. p. 19.

deſcribing

This Wild-fire was probably the ſame as that uſed by *Richard* the firſt, in his Naval Engagement with the *Saracens*. We learn from *Robert de Brune* that in the Barges, and Gallies belonging to the King, were Mills, turned by the Wind, and caſting from the Sails, Fire and Stones, which laſt were procured from the *Rhine*.

" In Bargeis and Galleis
" He ſet Mylnes to go,
" The Sailes as Men ſais
" Som were black, and blo.

" Som were rede, and grene,
" The Wynde about them blewe,
" A ſelly Sight to ſene,
" Fire the Sailes threwe."

" The Stones were of *Rynes*,
" The Noiſe dredfulle, and grete,
" It affraid the *Sarazins*
" As Leven the Fire out ſchete (*b*)."

Other Engines were in Uſe for throwing of Stones, as the *Mangonels*, *Trabuches*, and *Briccolas*; By ſome of theſe even Mill-ſtones of two, or three Hundred Weight, were ſhot to an incredible Diſtance (*c*).

No

deſcribing the *Ignis Græcus* as a Preparation of Sulphur, Pitch, and other combuſtible Matters. Flaming Sulphur and Pitch could not conſume either Flint or Iron; and are, beſides, extinguiſhable by Water. The ſame Writer obſerves, that during the Engagement off *Ptolemais*, the *Infidels* threw living Serpents into the Veſſels of the *Engliſh*.

(*b*) Peter Langtoff's Chronicle improved by Robert de Bruenne.—Strutt's Warlike Inſtruments of the Engliſh, V. 2. p. 31.

(*c*) Ibid.——Holingſhed, p. 839.

No ſuch Compoſition exiſts at preſent. The firſt Diſcoverer of it was *Callinicus*, an Architect, who quitted *Syria* to reſide at *Conſtantinople*. He imparted the Secret to the Emperor, by whom it was inviolably preſerved until juſt before his Death, when He revealed it to his intended Succeſſor, with a ſtrict Caution not to divulge it. *Conſtantinus Porphyrogenitus*, in his Treatiſe concerning the Adminiſtration of the Empire, which He dedicated to his Son, exhorts that Prince to tell the Barbarians who ſhould requeſt from him any of the *Greek Fire*, that He was not permitted to diſpoſe of it, *becauſe an Angel who gave it to* Conſtantine *the Great, commanded him to refuſe it to all other Nations.* Whilſt this Counſel was followed, the Wild-fire contributed to the Defence of the Empire; and ſeveral of the Fleets fitted out againſt *Conſtantinople* were burned, and deſtroyed by it. In the twelfth Century, this Compoſition ceaſed to be a Secret, being known to many other States, and even to the *Mahometans*. It was alſo uſed in the Attack, and Defence of Towns, and Caſtles (*d*).

Amidſt the Preparations of *Richard* the Firſt for his Expedition againſt the *Infidels*, ſtrong, and lofty wooden Towers were conſtructed, and fixed on board the Veſſels. From the Battlements of theſe Machines, the Enemy, either in their Ships below, or in the Towns, were galled by Stones, and Arrows. An old rhyming Hiſtorian obſerves, under this Reign,

" ——————" A Caſtell I underſtond
" —— was made of Tymber, yn Englond,
" With ſexe Stages, and made of Styrelles
" Well, and flouryſched, with gode Kernelles (*e*)."

Robert

(*d*) Monteſquieu. Cauſes de la Grandeur, et Decad. de l'Emp. Rom.---Lord Littleton's Second Book of the Hiſtory of the Life of Henry the Second.

(*e*) MSS. apud Bib. Harl. Inſig.

Robert de Brune, mentioning this Tower, built at the Command of the King, adds that

" In Schip He did it lede,
" To raiſe up bi the Walle,
" And it him ſtode in Nede,
" To cover him with alle (*f*)."

According to *Caxton* (*g*), it was named by *Richard Mate Gryffons*, and ſucceſsfully uſed, not only in Naval Engagements, but as the Sieges of *Meſſina*, and *Ptolemais*.

The Naval Strength and Importance of the Kingdom were, (if we except the Reigns of *Stephen*, and of *Henry* the Third, ſupported with Vigour, and Diſcernment, during the Sovereignty of the *Norman* Line. At that remote Æra, our Ships, as in the preſent Century, were ſuperior to thoſe of any other Nation. We may reaſonably draw ſuch an Inference from the Clauſe which concluded the Statute, or, *Aſſize of Arms*, (paſſed in the twenty-ſeventh Year of *Henry* the Second,) and forbad, under heavy Penalties, all Perſons whatſoever no buy, or ſell any Ship for the Uſe of Foreigners; or ſeduce any Mariner into foreign Service. This Injunction was commanded to be publiſhed by the itinerant Judges, in their ſeveral Circuits (*h*).

We

(*f*) Life of King Richard the Firſt in Peter Langtoff's Chronicle, improved by Robert de Brune.

(*g*) Polychronicon, L. 7. c. 26.

(*h*) Aſſiſa de Armis habend. in Anglia.---Item, Juſticiæ præcipiant per omnes Comitatus, per quos ituræ ſunt, quod nullus, ſicut ſe ipſum, et omnia ſua diligit, emat, vel vendat aliquam Navem, ad ducendum ab Anglia; nec aliquis deferat, vel deferri faciat Maireman extra Anglia. Et præcepit Rex quod nullus reciperetur ad Sacramentum Armorum niſi

We ſhall, now, preſent the Reader with a ſhort Inquiry, relating to the State of Commerce, during the Monarchy of the *Norman* Line. As a Proof of its Proſperity, it hath already been obſerved that *William* the Conqueror died poſſeſſed of an immenſe Treaſure, in Plate, and Silver. His Son *Henry* almoſt doubled the Acquiſition, and left for *Stephen* an Hundred Thouſand Pounds, in ready Money. When *Richard* the firſt aſcended the Throne, He ordered the proper Officers to number, and weigh the Treaſures of his Father, which, according to a Contemporary Writer (*i*), amounted to more than ninety Thouſand Pounds, in Silver, and Gold; or (agreeable to the Aſſertion of an Hiſtorian of the ſame Age) (*k*), to above an hundred Thouſand Marks. The Coin hath, with ſingular Propriety, been termed *the Pulſe of a State*: beating high, and even, it diſcovers the Health of the Body-politick: Low, and intermitting, it affords a Reaſon to be alarmed for the Public Safety. From this Circumſtance, an accurate Inveſtigator concludes that the Trade of *England* was exceedingly augmented during the Reign of *Henry* the Second, as, in a Space of Time almoſt equal to the Number of Years between the Acceſſion and Demiſe of his Grandfather, He without having Recourſe to any extraordinary Methods, became able to leave, after his enormous Diſburſements for the Purpoſe of carrying on the *Holy War*, a Treaſure by at leaſt a ninth Part

niſi liber Homo.---Benedict. Abbas. Tom. I. p. 365, 368.---Hoveden, ad Ann. 1181.---Lord Littleton's Second, and Fifth Books of the Hiſtory of the Life of King Henry the Second.

(*i*) V. Benedict. Abbat. de vitâ Ric. 1. ſub. Ann. 1182. T. 2. p. 553. Edit. Hearne.

(*k*) V. Hoveden. Annal. Pars II. f. 374.---Lord Littleton's Second Book of the Hiſtory of the Life of King Henry the Second.

Part greater than that of *Henry* the Firſt (*l*), who was eſteemed the richeſt Prince of the Age in which He lived.

If it be true that *Hubert de Burgh*, the chief Juſticiary of *Richard* the Firſt, remitted over to that Monarch, in *France*, at different Times, during the Space of two Years, the Sum of one Million, and one Hundred Thouſand Marks, (or eleven Millions of our preſent Money) (*m*); and, alſo found Reſources for the neceſſary Expences of Adminiſtration in *England*, We muſt allow that the People (although afterwards impoveriſhed by the Burden of Taxes,) had been, in this Reign, extremely rich; or (to write according to our Inferences from the Circulation of Money,) engaged in a proſperous State of Commerce. But we ſeem warranted in rejecting, with an elegant Hiſtorian (*n*), this Tradition as incredible, unleſs it could be ſuppoſed that *Richard* made a thorough Dilapidation of the Demeſnes of the Crown; an Act from which He could ſcarcely have received the leaſt Emolument, after his former Reſumption of all the Grants. It hath judiciouſly been aſked, whether a King who poſſeſſed ſuch a Revenue, would have endured a Captivity of fourteen Months, and not have paid to the *Emperor*, one Hundred, and fifty Thouſand Marks, the Price of his Releaſe? Could *his* high Spirit, have ſubmitted, in a State of Affluence, to the Indignity of being at length compelled to deliver up Hoſtages as a Security for the future Advancement of a Third of the Sum? Beſides, the Rates of Commodities at this Æra, muſt convince us that ſo much Money

(*l*) "Inventa ſunt plura quam nonaginta millia Librarum in Auro, et Argento, præter Utenſilia, et Iocalia, et Lapides pretioſos---Matt. Paris. Hiſt. Angl.---Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 233.

(*m*) Davenant on Grants, and Reſumptions, p. 112.

(*n*) Hume's Reign of Richard the Firſt.

Money could not have been levied on the People. "An "Hyde of Land, nearly equal to an Hundred and Twen- "ty Acres was uſually let for twenty Shillings a Year, "Money of that Time. The Hydes in *England* were "in Number, two Hundred, and forty-three Thou- "ſand, and ſix Hundred;" conſequently, all the land- ed Rents of the Kingdom amounted to as many Pounds. "The general, and ſtated Price of an Ox was four "Shillings; of a labouring Horſe, the ſame; of a "Sow, one Shilling; of a Sheep, with fine Wool, ten "Pence; with coarſe Wool, Six-pence (*o*). Theſe "Commodities ſeem not to have advanced in their "Princes, ſince the Conqueſt (*p*), and to have ſtill "been ten times cheaper than at Preſent (*q*)."

That the Woollen Manufactures flouriſhed under moſt of the Sovereigns of the *Norman* Race, is clear from the annual Payments made to the Crown by ſeve- ral Gilds of Weavers, in different Parts of the King- dom (*r*). In the fifth Year of the Reign of *Henry* the Second, the Weavers of *London* were charged in the *Exchequer* Rolls with four Marks of Gold, on the Farm of their Gild, for two Years. At other Periods, dur- ing the Life-time of this Monarch, they were rated at

(*o*) Roger Hoveden, p. 744.

(*p*) In the thirtieth Year of the Reign of Henry the Se- cond, the Price (in Money of that Æra,) of thirty-three Cows, and two Bulls, was only eight Pounds, and ſeven Shil- lings; of fifteen Brood-Mares, two Pounds, twelve Shil- lings, and Sixpence, and of twenty-two Hogs, one Pound, and two Shillings. All Commodities, (except the Sheep, the Fleece of which was valuable,) appear to have been at that Period ten Times cheaper than at Preſent.-----Madox. Baronia Anglica, cap. 14.

(*q*) Hume's Reign of Richard the Firſt.

(*r*) Madox's Hiſtory of the Exchequer. c. 10. p. 231.--- Lord Littleton's Second Book of the Hiſtory of the Life of King Henry the Second.

Twelve-pence *per Annum*. It is evident from the Records, that ſimilar Payments were made in the Reign of *Henry* the Second, and his Succeſſor, by the Weavers of *Oxford*, *York*, *Nottingham*, *Huntingdon*, *Lincoln*, and *Wincheſter*. The Loan of the *Ciſtercian* Monks to *Richard* the Firſt was in Wool, of which (except in the Year when it was reſerved for the Uſe of the King,) they exported large Quantities to *Flanders*, and other Nations (*s*). The illuſtrious *Sir Matthew Hale* (*t*) obſerves that, "in the Time of *Henry* the Second, and *Richard* "the Firſt, this Iſland greatly flouriſhed in the Art of "manufacturing Woolen Cloth: but by the troubleſome Wars, in the Time of King *John*, *Henry* the "Third, *Edward* the Firſt, and *Edward* the Second, this Manufacture was wholly loſt, and all our "Trade run out into Wool, Woolfels, and Leather, carried out in Specie." We learn, from the *Hiſtory of the Exchequer* (*u*), that the Cities of *Worceſter*, *Glouceſter*, and *Norwich*, together with the Towns of *Nottingham*, and *Bedford*, paid Fines to King *John*, "that they "might buy and ſell dyed Cloth, as they were accuſtomed to do in the Time of *Henry* the Second." This hath been urged as a Proof that then the *Cloathing*, and *Dying* Trades, flouriſhed unincumbered by thoſe Taxes with which they were afterwards loaded. A noble Author (*x*) is of Opinion that the Colony of *Flemings*, when diſperſed over *England*, in the Reign of *William* the Conqueror, not only exerciſed the Art of Weaving, which before their Emigration they excelled in, but inſtructed the *Engliſh*, and improved their Manufacture.

He

(*s*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 234.
(*t*) Hale's Primitive Original of Mankind, p. 161.
(*u*) Madox's Hiſtory of the Exchequer, c. 13. p. 354.
(*x*) Lord Littleton's Second Book of the Hiſtory of the Life of King Henry the Second.

He, alſo, ſuppoſes that when they were afterwards ſettled in *South Wales*, upon the Sea-coaſt, they addicted themſelves to foreign Traffic, and carried it on with the Woollen Cloths which they continued to make. As much may reaſonably be inferred from a Paſſage in *Giraldus Cambrenſis* (*p*), who, alluding to the *Flemings* in the Time of *Henry* the Second, calls them "a People "moſt verſed in Woolen Manufactures, and Mer-"chandize, who with any Labour, or Danger, would "ſeek for Gain by Sea, or Land." To encourage theſe Manufactures, the Exportation of *Wool unwrought* was charged with a Duty of half a Mark on each Sack. Many Regulations were introduced amongſt ſeveral Branches of the Weaving Trade, by a Law paſſed in the nineteenth Year of the Reign of *Henry* the Third, which takes notice of different Kinds of Broad-Cloth. This Manufacture was, at the ſame Period, opened in *Scotland*; a Circumſtance which induced the Government to endeavour (but without Succeſs,) to prevent the carrying of Wool thither from any of the Northern Counties.

A contemporary Hiſtorian (*z*) cites a Letter written by *Henry* the Second to the Emperor *Frederic Barbaroſſa*, and ſent, accompanied with ſumptuous Gifts, (in the Year eleven Hundred and Fifty-ſeven,) as a Return to an Embaſſy, and Preſents of high Value, from that Potentate, who had invited him to join in a League of Amity, and Alliance. *Henry*, after having acknowledged, in Terms of Gratitude, his Acceptance of the Overture, proceeds to an Enumeration of the Advan-

(*y*) V. Itinerarium Cambriæ, Lib. I. c. 11. p. 848, de Haverford et Roſs.

(*z*) V. Radevic. Friſingenſem de rebus geſtis Fred. Imperatoris, L. 1. c. 7.—Lord Littleton's Second Book of the Hiſtory of the Life of King Henry the Second.

tages likely to reſult from the League, and particularly mentions "*the Safety, and Freedom of Commerce betwixt* "*their reſpective Kingdoms.*"

Another Branch of the Trade (at this Epoch,) with Foreign Nations, was in Corn, for the Exportation of which from the Counties of *Norfolk*, and *Suffolk*, to the Kingdoms of *Denmark*, and *Norway*, a Licence was granted, in the Twenty-ſeventh Year of *Henry the Second* (*a*). In the Reign of *John*, the *Daniſh* Merchants were liberally encouraged to engage in Traffic with the *Engliſh*, and permitted to have Dealings in every Part of the Iſland, on the moderate Condition of giving whenſoever they came into it, an Hawk to the King. During the Life-time of this Prince, the Trade of *Boſton* in *Lincolnſhire* appears, from a Compariſon of the Cuſtoms in both Places, to have approached very nearly to the Trade of *London*, too imprudently neglected, whilſt the Royal Attention was confined intirely to the Out-ports.

The Commercial Intercourſe between the *Anglo-Normans*, and the *French*, howſoever inſignificant it might have been before that Æra, was conſiderably extended, during the Reign of *Henry the Second*. One chief Article of the Imports conſiſted of Foreign Wines, which were uſually brought from *France* (*b*). We learn from the Rolls that King *John* received, in the Year one Thouſand, two Hundred, and Thirteen, Duties for Wines of *Anjou*, *Auxerre*, and *Gaſcony*, excluſive of others entered under the general Term of *French* Wines. Mention is alſo made, in the ſame Account, of the Wines of *Saxony*, which are imagined by a celebrated Hiſto-

(*a*) Ibid.---Madox's Hiſtory of the Exchequer, c. 13, p. 323, 324.

(*b*) Ibid.---c. 18. p. 527.

Hiſtorian (*c* to have come into Faſhion amongſt the *Engliſh*, in the Time of *Henry the Second*, after the Duke of *Saxony* had married his Daughter. Yet, He would have it obſerved that the Limits of that Dutchy were then extended to the *Rhine*; and therefore theſe Wines may be *Rheniſh*.

A more general Account of the Commerce of this Age is to be found in the Writings of *William* of *Malmeſbury* (*d*), who obſerved that "The City of *Lon-*
"*don* was illuſtrious, and eminent for the Wealth of
"its Inhabitants;" that "Multitudes of Merchants and
"Factors, reſorted to it from every Nation; and par-
"ticularly from *Germany*;" and that "it proved in
"Caſes of Dearth, either of Corn, or of other Neceſ-
"ſaries of Life, a Store-houſe for the whole Iſland."
We alſo learn from him that "The Harbour of *Briſtol*
"was continually filled with Ships, from *Ireland*, *Norway*,
"and every Country of *Europe*; which brought thither
"Commerce, and much Foreign Wealth. The City
"of *Exeter*, alſo carried on a great Traffic, and was
"frequented by Merchants from the neighbouring
"Kingdoms."

Of the Coin, ſo intimately united with Commerce, it muſt be remarked that a Standard, and new Regulations were eſtabliſhed to ſtop the Practice of Clipping, which had been carried in the Time of *Henry the Third*, to an enormous length (*e*). Thus was the Evil removed; yet, in the Opinion of many to give Place to One as detrimental (*f*). The Cuſtom then growing

(*c*) Lord Littleton's Second Book of the Hiſtory of the Life of King Henry the Second.

(*d*) De Geſtis Pontif. L. 2. f. 133. Sect. 30. L. 4. f. 161. Sect. 50.

(*e*) Cambden's Remains, Chapter on Money.---Biſhop Nicholſon's Hiſtorical Library.

(*f*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 237.

common (and at this Period in uſe,) of circulating Money by Tale, became ſuddenly forbidden; and Orders were iſſued out for Payments, and Receipts to paſs by Weight, according to the Mode already ſpecified.

John, in the Opinion of ſome Writers, was the Author of our Standard; but this as it is obſerved by an accurate Inquirer, (*g*), "muſt be with regard to Fineneſs, eſpecially; the *Sterling*, or *Eſterling*, (which "was the Name of a Penny made of good Silver,) "having been introduced in his Reign." Relatively to Weight, the Hiſtorian (*h*) acquaints us that in the Year one Thouſand, and eighty Three, *William* the Conqueror enacted a Law which fixed the Weight of a Penny, at Thirty-two Grains of Wheat, out of the Midſt of the Ear. The Words of the Statute in the Fifty-Third Year of *Henry* the Third are to the ſame Purpoſe. Yet we trace a Diſtinction without a Difference. The Grains of Wheat were perceived to vary often in their Weight; on thoſe preſerved for the King's Balance, the Changes of Weather had a ſenſible Effect. To prevent ſuch Inconveniencies, Twenty-four Pieces of Braſs, equal in Weight to the Thirty-two Grains of Wheat were ſubſtituted in their Place; and thenceforward, the Penny-weight was ſaid to contain Twenty-four Grains.

The Affluence of the Nobility, and Clergy, during the Reign of *Henry* the Third, is a Proof, (whatſoever may have been advanced by Hiſtorians, to the Contrary,) that the Subjects of this Prince were not rifled to the laſt Mark. *Richard*, Earl of *Cornwall*, laid up nearly two Hundred, and fifty Thouſand Pounds from the Profits of his Eſtate, and expended a great Part of them to

(*g*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 237.
(*h*) Tho. Rudburn. Hiſtoria Major. MS. in Bibl. Cott. Lambeth et Bened.—Biſhop Nicholſon's Hiſtorical Library.

to ſatisfy the Avarice of the *German* Potentates, by whom He was elected King of the *Romans* (*i*). The Revenues of the *Italian* Clergy in *England* amounted to fifty Thouſand Mark's (*k*). The Lord *Warine de Muntchenſi* bequeathed at his Deceaſe, to different Legatees, two Hundred Thouſand Marks in Money (*l*). Theſe Inſtances are ſufficient to diſcover the general Opulence of the Barons, and the Prieſts. A State of Poverty ſeemed to have been the moſt ſeverely felt by the King, and the inferior Orders of his People; whilſt many of the Nobles, Monks, and *Jews* engroſſed the Sums ariſing from the Intercourſe of Trade.

Before We cloſe this Subject, let us advert to a reſpectable Authority (*m*) which informs us that, in the Time of *Henry* the Third, Commerce, although not in a flouriſhing Situation, appears, if a Judgment can be pronounced concerning the Increaſe of Money, by the Price of Corn, to have thriven in a ſlight Degree from the Conqueſt, to that Period. Four Shillings and Three-pence a Quarter (equal to twelve Shillings and Nine-pence of our preſent Money,) were the Medium between the higheſt, and the loweſt Prices of Wheat, as aſſigned by the Statute. This is near the Half of the middling Price, in our Time. Yet, the middling Price of Cattle, ſo late as the Reign of King *Richard*

(*i*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 239.

(*k*) Matthew Paris, and, after him, Mr. Campbell, fix them at ſeventy thouſand Marks. My Authority is the Bull of *Pope Innocent**.

* See Rymer's Fœdera, V. 1. p. 471.

(*l*) Matt. Paris, p. 908.—In the Baronage of Sir William Dugdale †, Mention is made only of two Thouſand Pounds. Probably, as He refers to the ſame Hiſtorian, the Word *Hundred* was overlooked.

† Vol. I. p. 561.

(*m*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, Vol. II. 8vo. p. 224.

the Firſt, was found to be above eight, and near ten Times lower than the preſent Price. It is reaſonably aſked (*n*) whether this be not "the true Inference "from comparing theſe Facts, that, in all uncivilized "Nations, Cattle, which propagate of themſelves, bear "always a lower Price than Corn, which requires more "Art, and Stock to raiſe, it than thoſe Nations are "poſſeſſed of?" We find it remarked that "*Henry's* "Aſſize of Corn (*o*)" was copied from a preceding Aſſize eſtabliſhed by King *John*; and conſequently the Prices here compared of Corn and Cattle may be looked on as contemporary; and they were drawn, not from one "particular Year, but from an Eſtimation of the mid-"dling Prices, for a Series of Years." "It is true, (adds the ſame enlightened Author,) "that the Prices aſ-"ſigned by the Aſſize of *Richard* were meant as a Stan-"dard for the Accompts of Sheriffs, and Eſcheators; "and as conſiderable Profits were allowed to theſe Mi-"niſters, We may naturally ſuppoſe that the common "Value of Cattle was ſomewhat higher: Yet ſtill, ſo "great

(*n*) Ibid.

(*o*) The Aſſize of Bread was fixed in the thirty-fifth Year of the Reign of *Henry* the Third, and the Prices of it adjuſted by the different Prices of Corn, from one Shilling, to ſeven Shillings and Sixpence, each Quarter, in Money of that Epoch. Wheat, once, in the Life-time of this Prince was ſold at the Rate of twenty Shillings each Quarter, which Sum (as We have already obſerved,) was equal to three Pounds, at preſent. It muſt be allowed, with Mr. *Hume*, that "the very different Prices which the ſame Commodity "bore, at the ſame Time, are Proofs of the little Commu-"nication (or *Commerce*) between the Parts of the King-"dom." According to the Statute, Brewers in Cities might charge a Penny for only two Gallons of Ale; but were obliged to ſell three, or four Gallons, for the ſame Money, in the Country. "At Preſent, ſuch Commodities, by the "great Conſumption of the People, and the large Stocks of "the Brewers, are rather cheapeſt in Cities."

" great a Difference between the Prices of Corn and " Cattle, as that of Four to One, compared to the pre- " ſent Rates, affords important Reflections concerning " the very different State of Induſtry, and Tillage in the " two Periods."

It muſt be granted that the Progreſs of Commerce, at this particular Æra, was exceedingly obſtructed by the uſurios Intereſt taken for Loans of Money; the violent Extortions practiſed againſt the *Jews* who advanced it; and the total Neglect of the Laws enacted for the Puniſhment of Robbers. An Edict, iſſued out by *Philip Auguſtus* of *France*, permitted the *Jews* in that Kingdom to take Forty-eight *per Cent* (*p*). An Allowance equally enormous was granted to this Race in *England*. Yet in both Nations, were they barbarouſly plundered. Not to tire the Reader with Examples, let it be ſufficient to obſerve that in the Year one Thouſand, two Hundred, and Forty-three, *Henry* laid upon them a Talliage of ſixty Thouſand Marks (*q*), a Sum equivalent to the whole annual Revenue of the Crown. The Dread of that Torture which had been mercileſsly inflicted on ſeveral of their Tribe, induced them to comply, and reſign their Property, to ſecure their Lives.

How far the Impunity with which Robberies were committed affected the State of Commerce, may be gathered from the following Inſtance. At a Period prior to the Inſurrection of the Barons, and the Breaking out of the Civil Wars, a numerous Gang of Plunderers, who, in conſequence of the Careleſſneſs of the Police, were daily reinforced by Multitudes, proceeded to the Commiſſion

(*p*) Bruſſels Traitè des Fiefs, V. 1. p. 576.

(*q*) Madox. p. 152.---For the Particulars relating to this Subject the Reader may conſult Matthew Paris, p. 160, 372, 410, 525, 606.---Bruſſels, V. 1. p. 632; and Du Cange, verbo Judæi.

Commiſſion of the moſt atrocious Acts of Violence (*r*). All Property was thus rendered uncertain; and every Voyage, and Journey dangerous: The Country, ceaſing to be a Place of Safety, was deſerted by its Inhabitants; whilſt Houſes, and whole Villages were ranſacked by the Robbers. In the Year one Thouſand, two Hundred, and Forty-nine, two Merchants of *Brabant* waited on the King at *Wincheſter*, and complained that their Goods had been taken from them by Force; and that the Perſons guilty of this Crime were known both to themſelves, and to him, in whoſe Court they appeared almoſt daily. Too ſenſible that the Magiſtrates connived at, and were frequently acceſſory to the Outrages, they added that as they could not hope for Redreſs from the feeble, and perverted Execution of the Laws, it was their earneſt Intreaty that they might be permitted to avenge their Cauſe in a Duel with the Thieves. *Henry* gave Orders for the Trial of the Offenders, and twelve Jury-men, of great Property in the County of *Southampton*, were ſummoned to aſſiſt at it. Having been the Confederates of the Felons, they gave a Verdict for their Acquittal. The King, incenſed at their Behaviour, committed them to Priſon, and threatened they ſhould be more ſeverely puniſhed. Mean-while, a new Jury was empanelled, who found the Criminals guilty, and reported to *Henry* that ſeveral Officers of his Houſhold, not then proceeded againſt, had been either Abettors, or Accomplices in the Robbery. Their Vindication was that their Sovereign, by not diſcharging their Salaries, had cruelly reduced them to the Neceſſity of plundering *Others* for a Maintenance (*s*). This Plea (which, however, was of no avail

(*r*) Chronicle of Dunſtable, Vol 1. p. 155.

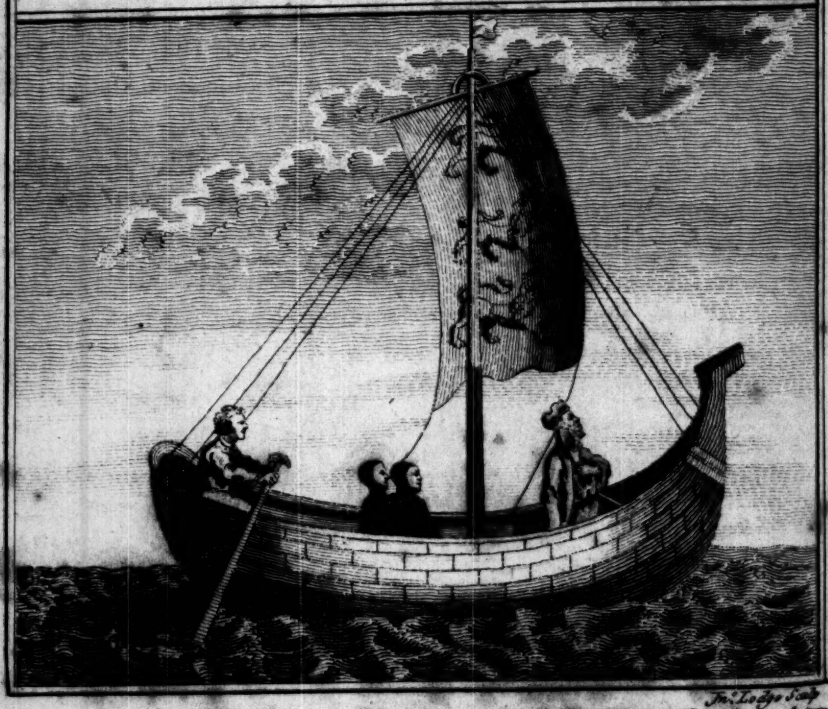
(*s*) " Dictatis Domino noſtro Regi, quod Ipſe noſtra Mors " eſt, et Cauſa Mortis præcipua, qui nobis Stipendia debi- " ta

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A Norman Sailing Ship.

Vol. I. p. 121. 122.



The Large Sailing Ship in the Reign of Richard II.

Vol. I. p. 139.

avail in retarding the Execution of thoſe of inferior Rank,) ſeems to have proved ſerviceable to the more powerful Malefactors. We learn from the *Dictum* of *Kenelworth*, that "*Knights, and Eſquires who were Rob-*"*bers, if they had no Land*, were ſentenced to *pay the* "*Half of their Goods, and find ſufficient Security to keep* "*thenceforth the Peace of the Kingdom.*"

As we have reached the *Engliſh* Æra of Naval Hiſtory it may be proper in Order to throw more light on the Circumſtances connected with it, briefly to deſcribe the Marine Equipments during the latter End of the Thirteenth, and the Whole of the Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Centuries,

The *large ſailing Ship* in the Reign of *Richard* the Second was furniſhed only with a ſingle Maſt, and Sail: The Shrouds (unlike thoſe of the *Norman* Veſſels, which ran from the Top of the Maſt to the Head, and Stern,) were fixed to each Side: In the *Norman* Veſſel, the Head, and Stern were alike: In the *Engliſh* Veſſel, the Stern was flat behind, and the Head riſing, and terminated nearly in a ſharp Point. In the Time of *Henry* the Sixth, the ſailing Ship was built on a more improved Plan, having a fluſh Deck, and a Bowſprit. With this laſt, the Gallies were furniſhed, as appears from the rude Lines of a contemporary Bard deſcribing the Effects of a Storm.

"And brake her Schyppes, Maſte, and Ore,
"And all ther Tachle leſſe, and more,
"Bowſprete, Ancre, and Rother,
"Ropes, Cables, oon and oother."

Towards

"ta per longum Tempus retinuit Indigentibus: Oportuit "igitur nos furari.—Rex hæc audiens, confuſus doluit, et "ab imo longa traxit Suſpiria."—Mat. Paris. Hiſt. Angl. p. 761.

Towards the latter End of the Reign of *Henry* the Sixth, and during the Time of *Edward* the Fourth, *Richard* the Third, and *Henry* the Seventh, the Ships, conſiderably improved, carried four Maſts, (beſides a Bowſprit,) with each a Sail; and theſe were two Hinder, or Mizen-maſts; the Main-maſt; and the Fore-maſt. An ingenious Antiquarian obſerves that the Fore-caſtle, and the Cabbin in the Stern, were like two Towers, the Communication of which in the Middle, is as it were the baſe Court to two monſtrous Keeps (*t*). The Bowſprit was apparently intended to ſerve only as an Hold-faſt to the Fore-maſt. The Ships of this Conſtruction ſailed with a ſide Wind: an Advantage which the Others of a former Æra wanted. The large ſailing Ships were often called *Carikes* (*u*).

The *Hulkes* were, probably, Veſſels of large Burden, without Maſts. We are informed by *Grafton* (*x*) that in the Thirteenth Year of the Reign of *Henry* the Sixth, the *French* ſunk four great *Hulkes*, full of ponderous Stones cemented together by Lead, within the Harbour of *Calais*, in order to demoliſh it. Having imprudently performed this Buſineſs during the High-Tides, they had the Mortification of perceiving that at Low-Water the *Hulkes* were left dry upon the Shore, and that the Inhabitants, improving the Opportunity, made a Sally from the Town, and carried the Timber and Stones into it for their own Uſe (*y*).

Caxton

(*t*) The inner Forts, or laſt Reſorts of the beſieged. Thus the inner Fort of Dover Caſtle, conſtructed by *Henry* the Second, was called the King's Keep.

(*u*) Strutt's Marine Affairs, Shipping, &c. of the Engliſh, V. 2. p. 74.

(*x*) Grafton's Chronicle, p. 571.

(*y*) Strutt's Marine Affairs, Shipping, &c. of the Engliſh, V. 2. p. 74.

Caxton (z) takes notice of the *Gallyetis* which may have been ſmaller *Gallies*. The Barges were large, and heavy Boats; of uſe to tranſport Troops acroſs the Rivers; to form Bridges; and to hold Scaffolds, from the Tops of which the Slingers and Bow-men aſſailed the Enemy with Stones and Arrows (*a*).

We learn from *Robert de Brune*, that *Edward* the Firſt availed himſelf of theſe Bridges of Boats, covered with Planks of Wood, to facilitate the Paſſage of his Army at *Snowden*; and that

"Botes he toke, and Barges the ſides togidere knytte
"Over the Water that large is, fro Banke to Banke rought itte,
"Thei fleked them overthuert, juſtly for to ligge,
"Over the Water ſmerte, was ſo ordeynd a Srigge (*b*)."

It was ſufficiently capacious to receive ſixty armed Men marching in in front (*c*).

An additional Confirmation of this Practice is in the Words of *Stow* (*d*); "When King *Henry* the Fifth "came

(z) Addition to the Polychronicon, p. 409. chap. 14.

(*a*) The Force, and Velocity of theſe Weapons are ſcarcely credible. *Aurelius Cicuta*, in his Book of Military Diſcipline, prefers the Arrows of the *Engliſh*, for theſe two Reſpects, to thoſe of every other Nation; and *Patritius* * affirms that a true *Engliſh* Arrow, ſlightly covered at the Point of the Head with Wax, would paſs through any ordinary Corſlet.

* Patrit. Paral. Parte ſecunda, L. 3. fol. 37.—See alſo J. Bingham's Notes on the Tactics of Ælian, p. 25, 26: and Strutt's Manners, and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh, V. 2. p. 40.

(*b*) Langtoff's Chronicle, Improved by Robert de Brune, p. 241.

(*c*) Holingſhed.

(*d*) Stowe's Chronicle, p. 359.

" came before *Melun*, which Town was ſituated on an " Iſland between two Arms of the Sea, ſo that there " was no coming at it by Land, but by the Bridge; " and by Water no Veſſels could come, becauſe the " Bed of the River was ſo thick ſet with ſtrong Piles; " Beſides this, the Town was defended with ſtrong high " Walls, and well furniſhed with Men, Ammunition, " and Proviſion. Then the King, when He had well " conſidered the Strength of the Place, cauſed his ſmall- " er Veſſels to approach, and clear the River of the " Piles, which was at laſt with infinite Labour per- " formed; Then, He faſtened all thoſe Veſſels together " with ſtrong Chains of Iron, making a firm, and ſub- " ſtantial Bridge, and built thereon ſtrong Towers of " Wood, to aſſault the Town; but when thoſe within " ſaw all thoſe Preparations, they capitulated, and the " Town was yielded up."

It appears alſo from *Grafton* (*e*) that in the eleventh Year of King *Henry* the Sixth, the *French* retired from the Fort under the *Yeore* along a Bridge which they had formed of Tons.

The *Balinger* was a ſmall Sailing-Veſſel. Beſides theſe, were *Crayers*, or *Fiſhing-Boats*; the *Ship-Boats*, ſtrong, and well compacted; and during the Wars, light *Boats* conſtructed with Wicker, or thin Timber, covered with Leather (*f*); in theſe, the Troops were conveyed acroſs thoſe Rivers which would otherwiſe have oppoſed their Progreſs. Not unlike ſuch Boats were the *Naiſſelles* alluded to by *Froiſſart*, and uſed by *Edward* the Third, during his Wars, in *France*. They were made ſo artfully of prepared, or boiled Leather

(*e*) Grafton, p. 556.—Strutt's Manners, and Cuſtoms of the Engliſh, V. 2. p. 47.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 74.—Stowe's Chronicle, p. 356.

ther (*g*), that each conveniently held three Men. Boats of the ſame Conſtruction were alſo uſed by *Henry* the Fifth, during his ſecond Expedition againſt the *French* (*h*).

We have already remarked that in the twelfth Century the Method of preparing the *Greek* Wild-Fire was known to ſeveral Nations. It cannot abſolutely be determined whether this identical Compoſition was uſed by the *Spaniards*, and the *Engliſh*; But it is certain that they aſſailed their Enemies, during their Naval Engagements, with ſome combuſtible Matter of almoſt (if not intirely) the ſame Nature. It is obſerved, by an old Hiſtorian (*i*), of the *Spaniſh* Gallies, during a Sea-fight, in the Reign of *Henry* the Fifth, that

" ——————— eche Day ther gan us fynd,
" With Ores many about us they dyd wind;
" With Wyld-Fyre oft attackede us Day, and Night,
" To brenne our Shippes in that they could, or might."

Fabian deſcribes the Naval Action againſt the *Flemings*, in the fifteenth Year of *Edward* the Third; as having been maintained " with hydous, and fereful " dynne, and noiſe of Gunnes, with terryble flamynge " of Wylde-fyre (*k*)." And *Harding* obſerves in his Account of the Warlike Atchievements of *Henry* the Fifth, that

" With

(*g*) " Faittes, et ordonneès ſy ſoubtillement de Cuir boully."—Froiſſart, Vol. II.

(*h*) He provided " Boates covered with Leather to paſſe over Rivers."—Holingſhed, p. 1171.

(*i*) Harding's Chronicle, ch. 216. fol. 12.

(*k*) Fabian, Vol. I.

" With his Gunnes caſtying, they made the Towre to fal,
" And their Bulwerke brent with Shot of Wylde-Fyre (*l*)."

If the preceeding Quotation from *Fabian* (an Author of conſiderable Credit,) be founded on Truth, the *Engliſh* made uſe of Artillery, ſome Years before the Battle of *Creſſy*; a Period from which many Hiſtorians have dated the Invention (*m*). They are recorded (*n*) to have been introduced amongſt the *Italians* and *Spaniards*, about the Year one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Seventeen; and to have been called by the Writers of that Age *Dolia Igninoma*, or Fire-flaſhing-Veſſels. *Polydore Virgil*, an elegant, but deceiving Author, affirms that the *French* were ſcarcely acquainted with the uſe of Cannon, until the Year one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Twenty-five. On the Contrary, we have Reaſon to imagine that this Nation employed them before they were known to the *Engliſh*. At leaſt, there is not a Record extant to diſprove the Fact. An Account delivered in by *Barthelemi de Drach*, the *French* Treaſurer at War (*o*), and dated in the Year one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Thirty-eight, is drawn up in ſuch expreſs Terms as to leave the Point beyond a Doubt. It ſpecifies " *Pour avoir* POUDRE *et autres* " *choſes neceſſaires aux* CANONS *qui etoient devant Puy* " *Guillaume* (*p*).'

From

(*l*) Harding's Chronicle, ch. 222. p. 210.—Strutt's Warlike Inſtruments of the Engliſh, V. 2. p. 31.

(*m*) Hume's Reign of Edward the Third.—Jean Villani. Lib. 12. cap. 66, &c. &c.

(*n*) Strutt's Warlike Inſtruments of the Engliſh, V. 2. p. 32.

(*o*) Ducange. Gloſs. in Verb. *Bombarda.*

(*p*) Hiſtoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et D'Edouard 3. par M. Galliard, T. 1. p. 298.

From hence it may be inferred that Fire-arms were known at leaſt eight Years before the Battle of *Creſſy*. The Teſtimonies for their ſuperior Antiquity are ſomewhat more equivocal. And yet, We might turn back on the moſt plauſible Grounds to the Middle of the thirteenth Century, and diſcover the great *Bacon* (whoſe Faculties were as much above the Conception of his own Times, as they ſurpaſſed thoſe of moſt of the later Philoſophers,) deſcribing the Compoſition, and the Effects of Powder (*q*). According to the general Opinion, this Invention proceeded from one *Schwartz*, (a Monk of *Germany*) in the Year thirteen Hundred, and Eighty. But this Idea may be eaſily reconciled with thoſe which are more particular. An elegant Hiſtorian (*r*) obſerves with great Juſtice, that in an Age ſo ignorant of the mechanical Arts, the Progreſs of a new Invention muſt have been very ſlow; and that the Artillery, firſt framed, were ſo clumſy, and of ſuch difficult Management, that Men were not immediately ſenſible of their Uſe and Efficacy. He preſumes that (as the *French* were not unprovided with Artillery, at the Time of the Battle of *Creſſy*,) *Philip* in his Hurry to overtake the Enemy, had probably left the Cannon be-

(*q*) In omnem Diſtantiam quam volumus poſſumus artificialiter componere Ignem comburentem ex ſale Petræ, et aliis---Soni velut tonitrus, et Coruſcationes poſſunt fieri in Aere; imo majori Horrore quam illa quæ fiunt per Naturam. Nam modica Materia adaptata ſcilicet ad Quantitatem unius Pollicis, Sonum facit horribilem, et Coruſcationem oſtendit vehementem, et hoc fit multis Modis, quibus Civitas aut Exercitus deſtruatur ad Modum Artificii Gedeonis, qui Lagunculis fractis, et Lampadibus, Igne exſiliente cum Fragore ineſtimabili, infinitum Madianitarum deſtruxit Exercitum cum trecentis Hominibus.---Roger. Bacon de Secret. Oper. Art. et Natur. et de Nullitate Magicæ.

(*r*) Hume's Reign of Edward the Third.

behind him, which He regarded as an unneceſſary Incumbrance. It hath been obſerved that *Roger Bacon* perceived to what uſes Powder might be applied. The firſt Experiments were, probably, incomplete; as it is natural for the Arts to be ſlow in their Progreſſion from a State of Infancy, to Maturity, and Perfection. That a whole Century ſhould have elapſed before the Uſe of Fire-arms was common, and convenient, is no extraordinary Circumſtance. Perhaps, the great Effect of the *Engliſh* Cannon at *Creſſy* may be conſidered as the Epoch of a material Improvement in this Art; and *Schwartz* may, alſo, in Thirty-ſix Years afterwards, have brought it to ſuch a State of Perfection as to have acquired the Reputation of having introduced a new Art, and approved himſelf the original Inventor (*s*).

Theſe Guns were alſo uſed at the Siege of *Calais*, in the Year ſucceeding the Battle of *Creſſy*, as may be gathered from the Record (*t*) which takes Notice of the Pay, given, at that Place, to the *Gunnarii* (*u*). At their firſt Introduction, they were loaded with Arrows. We learn from *Froiſſart* (*x*), that *John Bucq*, Admiral of the *Flemings*, was on board a Ship furniſhed with three *Cannons*, from which, during the Engagement, Darts or Quarrels (*Carrieaux*,) were ſhot, ſo large and heavy, that whereſoever they fell, they did great Execution. A Chronicle (*y*) written by *Dowglaſs*, a Monk of

(*s*) Hiſtoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Eouard III. par M. Galliard, T. 1. p. 299, 300.

(*t*) See Camden's Remains, p. 241.

(*u*) Strutt's Warlike Inſtruments of the Engliſh, V. 2. p. 32—Theſe *Gunnarii*, (in the Liſt of the Army, in an old *Engliſh* Manuſcript in the Harleian Library, written about the Year fourteen Hundred, and Twenty-two; and marked 53,) are called *Gunners*, and Artillers.

(*x*) Froiſſart's Chronicle, Vol. IV.

(*y*) MSS. in the Harleian Library, Marked 4690.

of *Glaſtonbury*, alſo, informs us, that in the ninth Year of the Reign of *Henry* the Fourth, the Earl of *Kent* was mortally wounded on the Head with a Quarrel diſcharged from a Gun. After this Period, the Artillery was loaded with Stones, as appears from the Author of *Brute*, of *England*, or the *Dunſtable* Chronicle (z), who having obſerved that the Dauphin of *France* ſent a taunting Meſſage, accompanied with a Ton of Tennis-Balls to *Henry* the Fifth, adds that the King "*anoone* "*lette make Tenes Balles for the Dolfin, in alle the Haſte,* "*that He myght; and they were great Gonne-ſtones, for the* "*Dolfin to playe with alle; and there* (a) *Henrie played at* "*the Tenys with his hard Gonne ſtones, that were ſhot into* "*the Towne; and whenne they beganne to pleye, they within* "*the Towne ſang welle away, and ſayde; Allas! That* "*evir ſuch Tenes Balles were made, and curſede all thoſe* "*that the Warre beganne, and the Tyme that they evir* "*were borne* (b)." Of what Matterials theſe Guns were uſually compoſed is uncertain: That ſome, however, were of Braſs, is evident from the *Polychronicon* (c), where it is obſerved that the *Engliſh* took, in the Year one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Thirty-ſix, from the *French* "*a great Gonne of Braſs, which was called* "Dygeon, *and many other grete Gonnes, and Serpentyns.*" A learned Antiquary ſuppoſes theſe laſt to have been a ſmaller Sort of Guns (d).

Towards the Middle of the fourteenth Century, the Cannon were bound with ſeveral ſtrong Hoops, in Or-

(z) MSS. Ibid, Marked 24, Folio 170.
(a) MSS. Ibid, Folio 171.
(b) Strutt's Warlike Inſtruments of the Engliſh, V. 2. p. 32.
(c) Caxton's Addition to the Polychronicon, Chap. 20. fol. 415.
(d) Strutt's Warlike Inſtruments of the Engliſh, V. 2, p. 32.

der that they might the more effectually reſiſt the Force of the Powder (*e*). They were ſoon afterwards much improved, and ſeem (if a Judgment can be formed from the Repreſentation of them,) to have approached very nearly in Conſtruction to thoſe of the preſent Time (*f*). It is obſerved in the *Dunſtable* Chronicle, that when *Henry* the Fifth, in the Fourth Year of his Reign "*prepared to go over Sea into France, He ſtocked himſelf* "*with all manner of Ordinyance, that is to ſay Armoure,* "*Gunnes, Tripgettis, Engines, Scales, Baſtelles, Brugges* "*of Lether, Pavyſſes, Bowe, and Arowes; and thither* "*come unto hym Shippes lade with Gonnes, and Gonnepow-* "*der* (*g*)." The *Tripget* was a Machine for throwing of Stones; the *Baſtelles* were wooden Caſtles. Both of theſe were uſed in Naval, and in Military Engagements. The *Scales* were ſcaling Ladders; the *Brugges* were ſmall leathern Boats; and the *Pavyſſes* large Shields to defend the Bodies of the Soldiers, when in Action, and during a Siege (*h*). (*i*).

It was the Mode of thoſe Times to decorate the Ships with painting, and profuſion of gilding. The Veſſels belonging to the *French* Fleet (fitted out to eſcort the Troops deſtined to invade *England*, in the tenth Year of *Richard* the Second,) were ſuperbly blaſoned with the Arms of *Charles* the Sixth; the Banners, Penons, and Standards were all of Silk; the Maſts were painted from Top to Bottom, and glittered with Gold

(*e*) Ibid—Montfaucon, V. 3. p. 228.

(*f*) Strutt. Plates 43, and 44.

(*g*) MSS. Harleian Library, Marked 24.

(*h*) Strutt's Warlike Inſtruments of the Engliſh, V. 2. p. 32.

(*i*) From the preceding Paſſages, it ſhould ſeem that the elegant, and accurate Author of the Univerſal Dictionary of the Marine, (however right He may have been in obſerving that the firſt Mention of Artillery in our Navies is made in the Account of the Sea-Engagement between the *Spaniſh*, and

Gold (*i*). The Lord *Guy* of *Tremoyll* was ſo extravagant in ornamenting the Ship in which He ſailed, that the Charge of the Painting, and Colours amounted to two Thouſand Franks in *French* Money, which, in that Period, was more than equal to two Hundred, and Twenty-two Pounds of the current Coin of *England* (*l*). On board of this Fleet, and in ſeparate Parts, was a Wall of Wood, conſtructed to the Height of twenty Feet; at every twelfth Foot, was raiſed a Tower, ſufficiently capacious to hold ten Men; and loftier by ten Feet than the reſt of the Wall, which, when ſet up, extended full three thouſand Paces (*m*). The Purpoſe of this Erection was to ſcreen the Troops from the Arrows of the *Engliſh* Archers. When the *French* Ships were taken, this Wall was brought to *Sandwich*, and there ſet up to be a Place of Defence againſt the Enemy who contrived it (*n*).

We ſhall conclude our Account of the Naval Equipments of this Æra, with an Inventory which (although taken in the ſixteenth,) may furniſh the Reader with a competent Idea of the Marine Architecture during the latter End of the fifteenth Century.

Thys is the Inventorie of the greate Bark *Vyenwyd*, by youre humble Servant *Chriſtopher Morres*, the ſixthe

and the united Fleets of the *Engliſh*, and *Poictevins*, a-breaſt of *Rochelle*, in the Year thirteen Hundred, and Seventy two,) hath paid too implicit a Deference to *Le Blond*, who affirms in his Elements of War, that the Uſe of Powder was not eſtabliſhed in Battle till the Time of *Francis* the Firſt, and the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth.—See Falconer's Marine Dictionary, in the Article *Engagement*.

(*k*) Froiſſart.

(*l*) Grafton, p. 364.

(*m*) Walſingham, p. 315.—Holingſhed's Chronicle, p. 1053.

(*n*) Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent, p. 139.—Strutt's Warlike Inſtruments of the Engliſh, V. 2. p. 36.

daye of Octobre, in the twentie-third Yeare of our Soverayne Kinge, *Henry* the Eighth (*o*).

Item in Primus: The Shyppe with oon Overloppe (*q*); *Item*, the Foer-Caſtell, and a cloos Tymber-Decke, from the Maſte forwarde, whyche was made of Lacte; *Item*, above the Foer-Caſtell, a Decke, from the Mayn-Maſte afterwarde; *Item*, a nyew Mayne-Maſte of Spruce (*r*), with a nyew Staye hounſyd (*s*), and ſkarvyd (*t*) wyth the ſayme Woode, whyche Maſte ys of Length from the Hounſe (1) to the Steppe (2), twentie-five Yardes: The Mayne-Maſte, about the Patnas (2, is twentye-three Hands about;

(*o*) MS. in Bib. Cotton. inſig. Quære Vitellius.

Explanations from a MS in the Harleian Library, marked 2301.

(*q*) *Overloppe*; the Deck.
(*r*) A ſort of Fir ſo called.
(*s*) *Hounſyd*; bound about.
(*t*) *Skarvyd*, or *Skarfed*; one Piece of Timber let into another, in a firm Joint.

(1) *Hounſe*, or *Hounds*, a Name given to thoſe Parts of the Maſt-Head which gradually project on the right, and left Side, beyond the cylindrical, or conical Surface, which it preſerves from the *Partners* upwards. The *Hounds* whoſe upper Parts are alſo called *Cheeks*, are uſed as Shoulders to ſupport the Frame of the Top, together with the Top-Maſt, and the Rigging of the Lower-Maſt.

(2) By the *Patnas*, I ſhould imagine, are meant the *Partners*, which are certain Pieces of Plank nailed round the ſeveral *Scuttles*, or *Holes*, in a Ship's Deck, wherein are contained the *Maſts*, and *Capſterns*. They are uſed to ſtrengthen the Deck where it is weakened by the Breaches, but particularly to ſupport it, when the *Maſt* leans againſt it; as impreſſed by a Weight of Sail, or when the *Capſtern* bears forcibly upon it whilſt charged with great Effort. *Partners* is alſo a name given occaſionally to the *Scuttles* themſelves, wherein the *Maſts*, and *Capſterns* are fixed.

(3) *Steppe*, a *Block of Wood* fixed on the Decks, or Bottom of a Ship, and having a Hole on the upper Side fitted to receive the *Heel* of a *Maſt*, or *Capſtern*.

about; *Item*, a nyew Mayne-Yaerd of Spruce, of oon Pece.

Item, the Takyll pertaynynge to the fayd Mayne-Maſte, ſix Takylles on a Syd.

Item, nyn Shrowdes, and a Backe Stay (4) on eyther Syd.

Item, in all the ſayd Takylles, ſix Shyvers (*u*) of Braſſe; that is to ſaye foure Shyvers in theyr Pennantes (5), and towe in the Bowſere (6) Takylles.

Item, a Payer of Thyes (*x*), and a Payer of Hayll-yaerds; *Item*, a Gyver (*y*), with towe braſyng Shyvers; *Item*, the Mayne-Parrel (7), wyth Truſſys, and towe Dryughs (A); *Item*, towe Lyſts (*z*); *Item*, towe

 Braeſys;

(*u*) *Shyvers*, or *Shevers*; the Pullies which run in the *Blocks*, whether *Braſs*, or *Wood*.

(*x*) *Thyes*, or *Ties*; the *Ropes* by which the *Yards* hang.

(*y*) *Gyver*; a *Block* in which the Sheevers run.

(*z*) *Lyſts*; *Lifts*, or *Ropes*, which belong to the *Yard-Arms*.

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(4) *Backe-Stayes* are long *Ropes* reaching from the *Top-Maſt-Heads* to the *ſtarboard* and *larboard* Sides of the Ship, where they are extended to the *Channels*: (or *Planks*, projecting Horizontally from the Ship's Out-ſide, a-breaſt of, and ſomewhat behind, the *Maſts*.) They are uſed to ſupport the *Top-Maſts*, and ſecond the Efforts of the *Shrouds*, when the *Maſt* is ſtrained by a Weight of Sail in a freſh Wind.

(5) *Pennantes*, or *Pendents* are ſhort Pieces of *Rope* fixed under the *Shrouds*, upon the *Head* of the *Main-Maſt*, and *Fore-Maſt*, from which it depends as low as the *Cat-Harpings*, (or the Purchaſe of *Ropes* employed to brace in the *Shrouds* of the lower *Maſts*, behind their *Yards*, &c.) having an *Eye* in the lower End, which is armed with an Iron *Thimble*, to prevent the *Eye* from being fretted by the *Hooks* of the *Main*, and *Fore-Tackles*.

(6) *Bowſere*;—the Application of the Tackle to mechanical Purpoſes is Termed *Hoiſting*, or *Bowſing*.

(7) *Parrel*: a Machine uſed to faſten the *Sail-Yards* of a Ship to the *Maſts*, in ſuch a Manner as that they may be eaſily hoiſted and lowered thereon, as Occaſion requires.

Braeſys; *Item*, towe Tregets; *Item*, a Mayne-Kerſe (8); *Item*, a Bonnete (*a*) haulf worren, wyth Shoutts (9), Tackes, and Bollyns (10).

Item, a niew Mayne-Toppe; *Item*, a Toppe-Maſte, and a Toppe-Sayle, wyth all theyr Apparelle.

Item, a Mayne-Miſſyn-Maſte, and a Mayne-Miſſyn-Yaerde of Spruce, of oon Pece.

Item, a Payer of Hayllyaerds (11), and a Tye for the ſayd Mayne-Miſſyn-Yaerde; *Item*, five Shrowdes on eyche Syd; *Item*, a Mayne-Myſſen, haulf a Toppe; *Item*, a Mayne-Myſſen-Sayle, haulf worren.

Item, a Bonaventure-Maſte, wyth a Yaerd of Spruce, of oon Pece; wyth three Shrowdes on a Syd; *Item*, a Payer of Hayllyaerds; *Item*, a Tye, wyth haulf a Toppe; *Item*, a Bonaventure-Sayle, ſore worren.

Item,

(*a*) *Bonnett* is belonging to another *Sail* *.

* This Explanation ſeems rather obſcure. Twenty different Articles may "*belong to another Sail.*" A *Bonnett* is an additional Part laced to the Bottom of the *Main-Sail* and *Fore-Sail* of ſome ſmall Veſſels, in moderate Winds.

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(8) *Mayn-Kerſe*; a *Main-Sail*.

(9) *Shoutts*, or *Sheets*, are *Ropes* faſtened to one, or both the lower Corners of a *Sail*, to extend, and retain it in a particular Station.

(10) *Bollyn*, or *Bowline* is a *Rope* faſtened near the middle of the *Leech*, or perpendicular Edge of the *ſquare Sails*, by three, or four ſubordinate Parts, called *Bridles*. It is only uſed when the Wind is ſo unfavourable that the *Sails* muſt be all braced ſideways, or *cloſe-hauled* to the Wind. In this Situation the *Bowlines* are employed to keep the weather, or windward Edges of the principal Sails tight, forward, and ſteady, without which they would be always ſhivering, and rendered incapable of Service.

(11) *Hayllyaerds*, or *Halliards*; are the *Ropes*, or *Tackles*, uſually employed to hoiſt, or lower any Sail upon its reſpective *Maſts*, or *Stay*.

Item, a Foer Maſte, wyth three Takylles, and ſeven Shrowdes on a Syd; wyth a Tye, and a Payer of Hayllyaerds wyth foure brafyn Shyvers; *Item*, a Foer-Sayle-Yaerd, wyth the Apparelles; towe Truſſys; *Item*, towe Lyſts, towe Braeſſys, towe Toppe-Sayle-Shoutts, towe Bollyngs; *Item*, a Foer-Staye; *Item*, foure Sayle-Shoutts, towe Tackes ſuch as they be; *Item*, foure Sayle Koors, wyth towe Bonnettes, ſore worren; *Item*, a Foer-Toppe-Maſte, wyth a Yaerd, wyth Sayles, and Takyll pertayning to yt.

Item, a Bowſprytt of Ooke; *Item*, a Sprytt-Sayle-Yaerd, ſkarvyd with a Sprytt-Sayle, ſore worren; *Item*, foure Ankarrs, with towe olde Cabulls; and anothyr olde Cabull whyche they ſaye is in the Watar.

Item, towe Katt-Howkes (*b*), and towe Fyſche-Howkes (*c*); *Item*, four Pollys, wyth brafyn Shyvers; *Item*, a Snatche-Polly (12), a Luffe-Howk (*d*); *Item*, towe Pollys for the Mayne-Toppe-Sayle; *Item*, towe great dubbell Pollys, with Woddyn Shyvers; *Item*, a greate Sings-Polly (B), wyth a Woddyn Shyver; *Item*, ſeventeen Pollys, greate and ſmalle; *Item*, foure Kuyll (13) of ſmalle Ropys of Roers Stuffe; *Item*, foure

(*b*) *Katt-Howkes*; or *Cat Hooks*, to faſten the *Anchor*.

(*c*) *Fyſſhe-Howke*; belonging to the *Fyſh* †, and therefore ſo called.

† The *Fyſh* is a Machine employed to hoiſt, or draw up the *Flukes* of the Ship's *Anchor* towards the Top of the *Bow* in order to ſtow it, after having been heaved up by the *Cable*—See *Falconer's Univerſal Dictionary of the Marine*.

(*d*) *Luff-Howk*; a larger Tackle, with two *Hooks*.

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(12) *Snatche-Polly*; a *Block* having an opening in one of its Sides, wherein to fix the *Bight* (or folded Part) of a *Rope*, occaſionally.

(13) *Kuyll*; a *Coil* (or Serpentine Winding up) of *Ropes*.

foure Boye-Ropys, goode and badde; a Fyd of Yeron (*e*); *Item*, a Shype-Kettel of twentie-foure Gallons; *Item*, a Pytche-Pott of Braſſe; *Item*, a Gryndyng-Stoen; *Item*, a Crowe of Yeron; *Item*, a Pytche-Trouth (14).

Item, a Pompe, wyth three Boxſys, and three Pompe-Stavys; *Item*, three Compaſſys, and a Kennying-Glaſſe (*f*); *Item*, five Lanternes.

Item, a great Boate pertaynning to the Shyppe, wyth a Davyd (15), with a Shyver of Braſſe; *Item*, twelve Owers, and a Schull.

Hereafter followeth the Ordenans, pertaynning to the ſayd Shyppe.

Items in Primus, towe Braſyn Pecys, called Kannon Pecys, on Stockyes, which wayith.

The

(*e*) A *Fyd* of *Iron*; an Inſtrument uſed for Splicing *Ropes*.
(*f*) *Kennyng-Glaſſe*; a *Teleſcope*.

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(14) *Trouth*; a *Trough*.

(15) *Davyd*, or *Dævit* is a long Beam of Timber, uſed as a *Crane*, whereby to hoiſt the *Flukes* of the *Anchor* to the Top of the *Bow* without injuring the Planks of the Ship's Sides, as it aſcends; an Operation which by Mariners is called *Fiſhing the Anchor*.—The Manuſcript alludes to a *Dævit* of a ſmaller kind, occaſionally fixed in the *Long-Boat*, and employed to weigh the *Anchor* therein.

I take the Liberty to Explain two other Terms on Conjecture. The Firſt is *Dryugh* (A); which is, probably, borrowed from the *French (Driſſe,)* and may ſignify the *Halliards* of any *Sail*, or *Yard*; Or, We may ſuppoſe it to be the *Parrel-Rope*, or *Truſs-Rope*; and derived from *Droſſe de Racage*, a Word of the ſame Import.

The next Term is *Sings Polly* (B), by which may be underſtood the Pulley of (what in the *French* Language is called, *Singe*,) a ſort of *Gin*, or *Machine*, with a *Roller*, or *Winch*, in the Middle, which is turned by *Handſpikes*; and uſed to diſcharge Goods from a *Boat*, or *ſmall Veſſel*.---See *Falconer's Univerſal Dictionary of the Marine*.

	C.	Qt.	lb.		C.	lb.
The Oon	9	1	11	Hole Wayghte	20	28
The Othyr	10	1	17			

Item, towe Payer of Shod Wheles, nyew; *Item*, towe Ladyng-Ladylls.

Starborde Syde.

Item, oon Port-Pece of Yeron, caſte wyth towe Cheambers; *Item*, a Port-Pece of Yeron, with oon Cheamber; *Item*, a Spanyche-Slyng, with oon Cheamber.

Larborde Syde.

Item, oon Port-Pece wyth towe Cheambers; *Item*, anothyr Port-Pece wyth oon Cheamber, whyche Cheamber was nat mayde for the ſayd Pece.

In the Foer-Caſtell.

Item, a ſmalle Slyng, with towe Cheambers; *Item*, anothyr Pece of Yeron, with towe Cheambers, the oon brokyn.

Of the Juſtice of the Claim which the Crown of *England* hath made to the Sovereignty of the adjacent Seas, the learned Reader is ſufficiently convinced. We ſhall not, therefore, enter diffuſely on the Subject, but confine it to the Remarks which are abſolutely neceſſary for thoſe who are leſs acquainted with it.

After the Declaration of War between *Edward* the Firſt, and *Philip*, King of *France*, a Treaty was negotiated for the Freedom of Commerce, under the Titles of *Sufferentia Guerræ*, or a Sufferance of War. It is immaterial to my preſent Purpoſe to inquire whether it was inviolably adhered to; and ſufficient to obſerve, that the third Article of the next enſuing Peace between the two Crowns was introduced as a ſtronger Ratification of the Treaty. It contained a mutual Stipulation that Neither of the contracting Parties ſhould aſſiſt the Enemies of each other, or permit any Succours to be granted

granted to them by the Subjects of thoſe *French*, or *Engliſh* Territories to which they might apply; and, alſo, that they ſhould by Law condemn all Offenders, in this Caſe, to a Forfeiture of Body, and Goods. In ſpite of theſe Precautions, and Penalties, the Merchant-Ships of either Nation were moleſted, rifled, and frequently taken, not only during the Sufferance, but after the Solemnization of the Peace. Such Acts of Violence were in their Conſequences advantageous to *England*, and produced a formal Determination that *Edward* was abſolutely inveſted, for the Uſe of himſelf, and of his Succeſſors, with the Dominion of the Sea.

In the Year thirteen Hundred and Three, *Reyner Grimbaltz*, a Nobleman of *Genoa*, and appointed Admiral of a *French* Squadron fitted out againſt *Guy* Earl of *Flanders*, ſeized on ſeveral Ships, belonging to different Nations, and bound to the *Flemiſh* Ports. In Defence of theſe Outrages, He pleaded that by Virtue of his Commiſſion, He enjoyed the Privilege of exerciſing a ſovereign Juriſdiction on the Narrow Sea, or (as it was ſtiled by the Nation whom he ſerved,) *La Mier d'Engleterre*. The Sufferers took the earlieſt Opportunity of complaining to *Edward*, and *Philip*, who, thereupon, appointed certain *Auditors*, to hear, and determine the Merits of their Cauſe. The original Remonſtrance, preſented on this Occaſion, is drawn up in the old *French*, or *Norman* Language, and kept amongſt the Archives in the Tower of *London*. The Tranſlation of it is as follows (*g*).

" To You, our Lords, and Auditors, deputed by the Kings of *England* and *France*, to redreſs the Injuries done to their Subjects, by Sea, and Land, in Times of Truce and Peace; We, the Procurators of the

(g) Coke's Inſtitutes, Book 4. ch. 22.---Selden's Mare Clauſum, Lib. 2. c. 27, 28.

the Prelates, and Nobles, and of the Admiral of the *Engliſh* Sea, as well as of the Cities, and Towns, and of the Merchants, Mariners, Meſſengers, and Foreign Inhabitants, and all Others belonging to the Realm of *England*, and other Dominions, and Territories belonging to the King of *England*; as alſo of divers other Inabitants of *Genoa*, *Catalonia*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Zealand*, *Frizeland*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*, and of ſundry other maritime Places of the Empire, moſt humbly ſhew that whereas the Kings of *England*, by Right of the ſaid Kingdom have, from Time to Time, whereof there is no Memorial to the Contrary, been in peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Sovereignty of the *Engliſh* Seas, and of the Iſlands ſituate within the Same, with Power of ordaining, and eſtabliſhing Laws, Statutes and Prohibition of Arms, and of Ships otherwiſe furniſhed than Merchant-men uſed to be; and of taking Security, and giving Protection, in all Caſes where Need ſhall require; and of ordering all other Things neceſſary for the maintaining of Peace, Right, and Equity, among all Manner of People, as well of other Dominions, as their Own, paſſing through the Seas, and the Sovereign Guard thereof: And alſo of taking all Manner of Cognizance in Cauſes, and of doing Right, and Juſtice, to High, and Low, according to the ſaid Laws, Statutes, Ordinances, and Prohibitions, and all other Things which to the Exerciſe of Sovereign Juriſdiction in the Places aforeſaid may appertain: And whereas A de B (*h*), Admiral of the ſaid Sea, deputed by the ſaid King of *England*, and his Anceſtors, formerly Kings of *England*, have been in peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Sovereign Guard, with Power of Juriſdiction, and all the other Powers before-mentioned, except

(*h*) Lord Coke calls him *De Estetort.*—Inſtitut. Lib. 4. c. 22.

except in Caſe of Appeal, and Complaint made of them to their Sovereigns, the Kings of *England*, in default of Juſtice, or for evil Judgment,) and eſpecially of making Prohibitions, doing Juſtice, and taking Security for Good Behaviour, from all Manner of People carrying Arms on the ſaid Sea, or ſailing in Ships otherwiſe fitted out, and armed than Merchant-Ships uſed to be, and in all other Caſes where a Man may have reaſonable Cauſe of Suſpicion towards them of Piracy, or other Miſdoings: and whereas the Maſters of Ships of the ſaid Kingdom of *England*, in the Abſence of the ſaid Admirals, have been in peaceable Poſſeſſion of taking Cognizance, and judging of all Facts upon the ſaid Sea, between all Manner of People, according to the Laws, Statutes, Prohibitions, Franchiſes, and Cuſtoms: And whereas in the firſt Article of the Treaty of Alliance, lately made between the ſaid Kings at *Paris*, the Words following are ſet down, namely: Firſt of all, it is agreed, and concluded between Us, the Envoys, and Agents abovementioned, in the Names of the ſaid Kings, that they ſhall be to each other, for the future, good, true, and faithful Friends, and Allies againſt all the World, (except the Church of Rome,) in ſuch Manner that if any One, or More, whoſoever they be, ſhall go about to interrupt, hinder, or moleſt the ſaid Kings, in the Franchiſes, Liberties, Privileges, Rights, or Cuſtoms of them, and their Kingdoms; they ſhall be good, and faithful Friends, and aiding againſt all Men living, and ready to die, to defend, keep, and maintain, the abovementioned Franchiſes, Liberties, Rights, and Cuſtoms, &c. And that the One ſhall not be of Counſel, nor give Aid, or Aſſiſtance in any thing whereby the Other may loſe Life, Limb, Eſtate, or Honour. And whereas Mr. *Reyner Grimbaltz*, Maſter of the Ships of the ſaid King

of

of *France*, who calls himſelf Admiral of the ſaid Sea, being deputed by his Sovereign aforeſaid, in his War againſt the *Flemings*, did, (after the abovementioned Alliance was made, and ratified, and againſt the Tenor, and Obligation of the ſaid Alliance, and the Intention of Thoſe who made it,) wrongfully aſſume, and exerciſe the Office of Admiral in the ſaid Sea of *England*, above the Space of a Year, by Commiſſion, from the ſaid King of *France*, taking the Subjects, and Merchants of the Kingdom of *England*, and of other Countries, paſſing upon the ſaid Seas, with their Goods, and did caſt the Men, ſo taken, into the Priſons of his ſaid Maſter, the King of *France*, and by his own Judgment, and Award, did cauſe to be delivered their Goods, and Merchandizes to Receivers eſtabliſhed for that Purpoſe, in the Sea-Ports of the ſaid King, as forfeit, and confiſcate to Him; and his taking, and detaining the ſaid Men with their ſaid Goods, and Merchandizes, and his Judgment, and Award on them as forfeit, and confiſcate, hath pretended in writing to juſtify before You, the Lords Commiſſioners, by Authority of the aforeſaid Commiſſion for the Office of Admiral by Him thus uſurped, and againſt the general Prohibition made by the King of *England*, in Places within his Power, in Purſuance of the third Article of the before-mentioned Alliance, containing the Words above-written, and hath therefore required, that He may be acquitted, and abſolved of the ſame, to the great Damage, and Prejudice of the ſaid King of *England*, and of the Prelates, Nobles, and Others, before-mentioned: Wherefore, the ſaid Procurators do, in the Names of their ſaid Lords, pray You, the Lords Commiſſioners before-mentioned, that due, and ſpeedy Delivery of the ſaid Men, Ships, Goods and Merchandizes ſo taken, and detained, may be made to the Admiral of the ſaid King

of

of *England*, to whom the Cognizance of this Matter doth rightly appertain, as is aboveſaid, that ſo, without Diſturbance from You, or any One elſe, He may take Cognizance thereof, and do what belongs to his aforeſaid Office; and that the aforeſaid Mr. *Reyner* may be condemned, and conſtrained to make due Satisfaction for all the ſaid Damages, ſo far forth as He ſhall be able to do the ſame; And in Default thereof, his ſaid Maſter the King of *France*, by whom He was deputed to the ſaid Office, and that after due Satisfaction ſhall be made for the ſaid Damages, the ſaid Mr. *Reyner* may be ſo duly puniſhed for the Violation of the ſaid Allowance, as that the Same may be an Example to Others, for Time to come."

The Obſervations made upon this Remonſtrance are ſo judicious, and concluſive, as to render it unneceſſary to throw the Subject into a clearer Light than that in which it is already placed (*i*). Aſſenting, therefore, to a reſpectable Opinion, we ſhall inform the Reader, that

I. "It appears from the Remonſtrance that the Dominion of the Sea had not only been claimed, but exerciſed, and poſſeſſed by the Kings of *England*, from Time immemorial; which is ſufficient to give ſome Credit to the Facts related from the *Britiſh* Hiſtory: For, as to the times ſince the *Roman* Invaſion, they were, in an hiſtorical Senſe, within Memory."

II. "It is evident from hence that the Dominion of the Sea was a Juriſdiction over the Veſſels of all Nations paſſing thereon, for the common Benefit of all, for the Prevention of Piracies, the Protection of Commerce, and the Deciſion of unforeſeen Diſputes."

III.

(i) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. 1. p. 178.—Selden. Mare Clauſum. Lib. 2. c. 27, 28.—Coke's Inſtit. Lib. 4. c. 22.

III. "It is no leſs apparent, that this was an excluſive Juriſdiction, in which no other Potentate had any Share; which muſt have been founded either in common Conſent, or in Superiority of Strength; either of which afforded a good Title."

IV. "We learn, from this Remonſtrance, that the Dominion of the Sea reſting in the King of *England*, was a point not only known to, but maintained by, the *Genoeſe*, *Spaniards*, *Germans*, *Hollanders*, *Danes*, and, in ſhort, by all the maritime Powers then in *Europe*: which is ſufficient to evince that Trade was far from being at a low Ebb; and that the Prerogative of the Crown of *England*, in this Reſpect, had been hitherto ſo exerciſed as to render it a common Advantage."

V. "We perceive that Foreigners were ſo jealous of the aſſuming Temper of the *French* Princes, that they would not admit the Commander in Chief of their Naval Force to bear the title of Admiral, which they apprehended to include a title to Juriſdiction; and therefore would have this *Reyner Grimbaltz* ſtiled only Maſter of the Ships to the King of *France*."

VI. "It muſt be obſerved that the Commiſſioners, to whom this Remonſtrance is addreſſed, neither had, nor claimed any Naval Juriſdiction whatſoever, but were appointed to hear, and determine whether the Prerogative of *Edward* the Third as Sovereign of the Sea, had been invaded by *Reyner Grimbaltz*, in contravention of the firſt Article of the Treaty ſubſiſting between the Crowns of *England*, and *France*, whereby the contracting Parties covenanted to maintain the Prerogatives of each other; and, conſequently, the *French* King was bound to maintain this Prerogative of *Edward*, which gave occaſion to the Commiſſion."

VII. "We owe the knowledge of this whole Affair, not to our Hiſtorians, but to our Records; whence we

may ſafely deduce this Conſequence, that the want of Facts to ſupport ſuch a Juriſdiction throughout the preceding Reigns, ought not to be urged as a juſt Objection, becauſe moſt of Thoſe who applied themſelves to writing Hiſtory, were very little acquainted with theſe Matters."

"Another Circumſtance relative to this Affair, and intitled to our particular Attention, is the Plea put in by *Reyner Grimbaltz*, in anſwer to this Remonſtrance. He did not either call in queſtion the Sovereignty of the King of *England*, or pretend that any Power was veſted in himſelf, by Virtue of the Commiſſion which He held under the *French* Monarch. The Point, on which he inſiſted was the third Article of the abovementioned Treaty; By this He underſtood that, as *Edward* had contracted not to give any Aid, or Aſſiſtance, or to ſuffer any Aid, or Aſſiſtance to be given to the Enemies of *Philip*; and alſo actually iſſued out a Prohibition of ſuch Practices; ſo, of Courſe, it followed that all Perſons whatever relieving in Defiance of this Prohibition, the *Flemings*, either with Merchandize, or otherwiſe, were to be conſidered as Enemies; that He (*Grimbaltz*,) having ſeized on the Perſons, and Goods of only ſuch Delinquents, was of Opinion that his Conduct might be juſtified by the ſaid Prohibition, in which, according to his Interpretation, *Edward* had ſignified that He would not regard it as an Injury done to him, although the Ships of ſuch Offenders ſhould be taken in his Seas, by the Officers of the King of *France*. Not to enter into the Reaſonableneſs, or Validity of this Defence, it is ſufficient to obſerve that it contains the cleareſt Conceſſion, on the Part of *France*, that can be deſired: becauſe *Grimbaltz* derived the Legality of his own Actions, if they were legal, not from the Commiſſion of the Prince He ſerved, but from the Prohi-

Prohibition of the King of *England:* ſo that, in reality, He aſſerted himſelf to have acted under the *Engliſh* Sovereignty, and from thence, expected his Acquittal (*k*)."

The *Flemings* are not expreſsly mentioned in the foregoing Remonſtrance; yet they were equally of Opinion with other Nations that the Sovereignty of the Sea was veſted in the Crown of *England.* To this Truth, the Ambaſſadors of the Earl of *Flanders* appear to have formally aſſented in the following Manifeſto (*l*).

"Whereas for the Reformation of certain Injuries, in an amicable Way, done by the Subjects of the Earl of *Flanders*, to the Subjects of the King of *England*, and by the Subjects of the ſaid Kingdom to thoſe of *Flanders*, ſince the Time that our ſaid Lord, the King undertook the Government of his Kingdom, &c. And whereas the ſaid Ambaſſadors had been admitted by our ſaid Lord, the King, to treat anew of this Kind of Injuries, theſe Ambaſſadors, or other Ambaſſadors of the aforeſaid Earl, in the aforeſaid Treaties did, among other Particulars, which they required before all Things, make Supplication that the ſaid Lord the King would, at his own Suit, by Virtue of his Royal Authority, cauſe Inquiry to be made, and do Juſtice about a certain Depredation lately committed by the Subjects of *England* (as it is ſaid,) upon the *Engliſh* Sea, of Wines, and divers other Merchandizes, belonging to certain Men of *Flanders*, towards the Parts of *Cranden*, within the Territory, and Juriſdiction of our ſaid Lord, the King, alledging that the aforeſaid Wines, and Merchandizes taken from the *Flemings*, were brought within the Juriſdiction, and Realm of the ſaid Lord, the King, and

(*k*) Cambell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 179, 180.—Selden. Mare Clauſum, Lib. 2. c. 27, 28.

(*l*) *Rot.* P. 14. Ed. 2. par. 2. Membran. 26.

that it belonged to the King himſelf ſo to do, for that HE IS LORD OF THE SAID SEA (*m*).

Having explained the Nature, and Validity of the Claim made by the *Engliſh* to the Sovereignty of the adjacent Ocean, We need only add that all Foreign Powers bear Teſtimony to the Juſtice of it, by an Act of Homage. It is an Article in the Maritime Ceremonial of Salutes, that when any of the Ships belonging to the Crown of *Great-Britain* ſhall meet with any Ship, or Ships, in the Service of any foreign Prince, or State. within the *Engliſh* Seas, (which extend to *Cape Finiſterre*,) it is expected that the ſaid Foreign Ships do ſtrike their Top-Sail, and take in their Flag in Acknowledgment of the Sovereignty of *England*, in thoſe Seas; and if any ſhall refuſe, or offer to reſiſt, it is enjoined to all Flag-Officers, and Commanders, to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to compel them thereto; and not ſuffer any Diſhonour to be done to the Nation. And it is to be obſerved that in the *Engliſh* Seas, the *Engliſh* Ships are in no ways to ſtrike to any; and that in other Parts, no *Engliſh* Ship is to ſtrike her Flag, or Top-Sail to any Foreigner, unleſs ſuch foreign Ship ſhall have firſt ſtruck, or, at the ſame Time, ſtrike her Flag, or Top-Sail to the *Engliſh* Ship.

Theſe Honours, received during a Length of Years, and ſtill paid by the *European* States, proclaim that our Naval Armaments inſpire equal Terror, and Reſpect. Seldom (if ever,) hath the Sovereignty of the *Britiſh* Flag been inſulted with Impunity. Of this Truth, we ſhall obſerve numerous Examples in the Courſe of our Memoirs. Let it be ſufficient to mention, for the Preſent, a few Inſtances of that Submiſſion with which the Pre-eminence of the *Engliſh* Fleets hath been acknowledged, not only within, but beyond the Limits of the adjacent Seas.

In

(*m*) Selden, Mare Clauſum.

In the Year one Thouſand, ſix Hundred, and Thirty-ſix, the *Happy Entrance*, a Ship belonging to the Squadron under the Command of the Earl of *Northumberland*, (at that time, Lord High Admiral of *England*,) obliged the *Spaniſh* Fleet, although ſailing between *Calais* and *Dunkirk*, to take in their Colours.

When, in the ſame Year, and in the abovementioned Ship, Sir *George Carteret* entered the Harbour of *Helvoetſluys*,, having on board the Earl of *Arundel*, appointed Ambaſſador to the *States-General*, the *Dutch* Admiral, *Van-Tromp*, who was then riding at Anchor, ſtruck his Flag, notwithſtanding that Sir *George Carteret* had hoiſted none himſelf.

A Refuſal of this Homage hath always been complained of in the moſt authoritative Terms; Peremptory Demands were made for inſtant Satisfaction, and the Conceſſions formally acknowledged by a Treaty. Thus, in the Year, one Thouſand, ſix Hundred, and Fifty-three, the thirteenth Article of the Treaty concluded between *Oliver Cromwell*, and the *Dutch* declares that "The Ships, and Veſſels of the ſaid *United Provinces*, as well Ships of War, and fitted out for repelling the Force of Enemies, as Others, which ſhall, in the *Britiſh* Seas, meet with any of the Ships of the *State* of *England*, ſhall ſtrike their Flag, and lower their Top-Sail, in ſuch Manner, as hath been obſerved in any Time paſſed, or under any former Government whatſoever."

An Inſertion of the like Stipulation hath been required in all the ſubſequent Treaties with the *States General*, and by that confirmed in the Year, one Thouſand, ſix Hundred, and Seventy-three, it is expreſsly provided that the Honours due to the *Engliſh* Flag ſhall be paid from *Cape Finiſterre*, to the middle Point of the Land *Van Staten*, in *Norway*.

At the Death of *Henry* the Third (*n*), the Council of State to prevent the Miſchiefs which might have ariſen from an apparent Vacancy in the Throne, ſummoned all the Barons to attend at *Weſtminſter*, where, in the Preſence of the Clergy and Laity aſſembled on the Occaſion they proceeded to the high Altar, and ſwore Fealty to *Edward* (*o*). The People without, to whom this Prince had endeared himſelf by his martial Ardor, the Succeſſes that attended it, and the Moderation with which He purſued the Advantages reſulting from his Victories, were overjoyed to acknowledge him for their Sovereign. Even the Malcontents adopted the general Language of the Nation; and, by an immediate Submiſſion, reſtored to the Government that Tranquility which, during the laſt Reign they had ſo violently diſturbed.

The new Monarch was on his Return to *England*, when being informed by Expreſſes (from *Walter Giffard*, Archbiſhop of *York*, the Earl of *Cornwall*, Son of *Richard*, King of the *Romans*, and the Earl of *Glouceſter*, appointed Guardians of the Realm) that all inteſtine Diviſions had totally ſubſided, He changed his Courſe, and proceeded to *Rome*; from whence, after a ſhort Stay, he paſſed into *France* and did Homage to *Philip* for *Guienne*, and the other Provinces ceded to the *Britiſh* Crown, by the Treaty of *Abbeville*, in the Year, one Thouſand, two Hundred, and Fifty-nine.

During his Abode in *France*, *Edward* adjuſted, at *Montreuil*, a Diſpute with *Margaret*, Counteſs of *Flanders*, and Heireſs of that Territory (*p*). As the Particulars of this Event are not unconnected with our Sub-

(*n*) A. D. 1272.

(*o*) Matt. Weſtmonaſt.—Rymer, V. 2. p. 1.—Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 239.—Walſingham, p. 43.

(*p*) Rymer, Vol. II. p. 32, 33.

Subject, We ſhall briefly lay them before the Reader. It had been cuſtomary for the Kings of *England* to grant certain Penſions to the Earls of *Flanders*, that they might be ready to enter with them, on all neceſſary Occaſions, into an offenſive League againſt *France*. When this Power was at Peace with *England*, the Penſions became uſeleſs, and were accordingly withdrawn. *Margaret*, in reſentment for the Loſs, directed her Subjects to ſeize on the Effects of thoſe *Engliſh*, and *Gaſcon* Merchants who ſhould be found within her Dominions. Of every Species of Violence this is the moſt abſurd, as continually drawing after it a Retaliation. The *Flemiſh* Merchants, then in *England*, were plundered, and impriſoned; whilſt a Law forbidding the Exportation of Wool to *Flanders*, threatened Ruin to the Manufactures of that Country. In ſuch a ſituation, *Margaret* felt the Neceſſity of ſuing for a Peace; and obtained it on the Condition of making full Amends to the *Engliſh* Merchants, for the Outrages to which her imprudent Orders had expoſed them.

Having regulated his Affairs in *Guienne*, *Edward* proceeded on his Return to *England*, where He landed, with his Conſort *Eleanor*, amidſt the Acclamations of his Subjects, on the Twenty-fifth of *July*, in the Year, one Thouſand, two Hundred, and Seventy-four; and was ſolemnly crowned at *Weſtminſter*, on the nineteenth of the following Month, by *Robert Kirwarby*, Cardinal, and Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the Preſence of *Alexander* the Third, King of *Scotland*, the Duke of *Bretagne*, and all the Nobles of the Realm (*q*).

From this Æra, the firſt material Occurrence which falls within the Province of a Naval Hiſtory, may be traced in a violent Contention between the *Engliſh*, and

(*q*) Annal. Waverl.—Rapin.

the *Normans* near the Port of *Bayonne*. As the circumſtantial, and moſt probable Account of it in the Writings of *Walter de Hemingford*, hath been tranſlated by the Author (*r*) of the Lives of the Admirals, We ſhall preſent it with only few Variations to the Reader.

" In the Year one Thouſand, two Hundred, and Ninety-three, a fatal Quarrel broke out between the *Engliſh* Seamen belonging to the *Cinque Ports*, and the Mariners ſerving the *French* King, in *Normandy*. The Particulars are as follow: An *Engliſh* Ship, putting into a *Norman* Port, remained there ſome Days. Whilſt it lay at Anchor, two of the Crew went to get freſh Water, at a Place not far diſtant from the Shore, where they were inſulted by ſome *Normans* of their own Profeſſion; ſo that, proceeding from Words, to Blows, one of the *Engliſhmen* was killed, and the Other, eſcaping to the Ship, informed his Fellow-Sailors of what had happened; adding that the *Normans* were in Purſuit of them. In Conſequence of this Notice, they immediately ſet Sail, and with Difficulty bore away from their Adverſaries. The Inhabitants of the *Engliſh* Ports, apprehenſive of a future Attack, ſought Aſſiſtance from their Neighbours; whilſt the *Normans* retaining ſtill the ſame Inveteracy, augmented their Naval Force, and gave Chace to all the *Engliſh* Ships of which they came in Sight. During a Cruize, they fell in with, and engaged ſix *Engliſh* Veſſels, two of which they took, and after having killed the Mariners, hung up their Bodies, with an equal Number of Dogs, at the Yard Arm. In this Manner, they ſailed, for ſome Time, near the Coaſt, as ſignifying to All, that they made no ſort of Difference between an *Engliſhman*, and a Dog."

" When the Inhabitants of the *Cinque Ports* were told of this Indignity, they immediately prepared to revenge

(*r*) Mr. Campbell, V. 1. p. 168.

venge it. Unable to find their Enemies on the Seas, the entered the Harbour of *Swyn*, from whence they took away ſix Ships; and at the ſame Time, killed, and drowned, Numbers of the Men. Several Enterprizes of a like Nature were carried on by both Parties. At laſt, tired of this pyratical War, they fixed on a certain Day, for the Deciſion of the Diſpute, with their whole Naval Strength. Accordingly, a large empty Ship was ſtationed in the Middle, between the Coaſts of *England*, and of *Normandy*, to mark the Place of Engagement. The *Engliſh* againſt the Time appointed, procured ſome Aid from *Ireland*, *Holland*, and other Countries; and the *Normans* drew to their Aſſiſtance the *French*, *Flemings*, and *Genoeſe*. On the fourteenth of *April*, the two Fleets approached each other, whilſt the ſeveral Crews, full of Reſolution, prepared for Battle. As their Minds were enflamed with Rage, ſo a like Spirit ſeemed to agitate the Elements. Storms of Snow, and Hail, together with violent Guſts of Wind, were the Preludes of an obſtinate Conflict, in which the Victory was, at length obtained by the *Engliſh*. Many Thouſands of their Enemies were ſlain; and Others periſhed on board of the large Number of Ships which were ſunk in the Courſe of the Action. The *Engliſh*, attended by their Prizes, conſiſting of two Hundred and forty Sail, returned in Triumph to their Ports."

"When *Philip* received this News, although his Brother *Charles* had been the Author of the Battle, yet He ſent Ambaſſadors to the King of *England*, demanding Reparation for the Wrong done to him, by puniſhing Such as were concerned, and by the Payment of a vaſt Sum for the Loſſes which his Merchants had ſuſtained. To them *Edward* prudently anſwered that He would ſearch into the Matter, and give Notice of his Reſo-

Reſolution, by Meſſengers of his own. Agreeable to this Promiſe, He ſent (*s*) to requeſt the *French* King, that Time and Place might be fixed for the Commiſſioners, on both ſides, to meet, and enquire into the Circumſtances of the Fact, in order to its being amicably adjuſted: But this, *Philip* objected to; and by the Advice of his Nobility, ſummoned the King of *England* to appear at his Tribunal, on a Day aſſigned, and anſwer for what had paſſed. The Day, came, but *Edward* refuſed to attend. A new Citation was iſſued for his Preſence, at a more diſtant Time under Pain of forfeiting all his Dominions beyond the Seas. The King, before the Expiration of the Summons, ſent his Brother, *Edmund*, Earl of *Lancaſter*, and the Earl of *Leiceſter*, with Inſtructions for making an End of this Affair: Yet theſe Ambaſſadors, although they produced proper Credentials, were not heard, or even admitted; but Judgment was given that *Edward* ſhould loſe *Aquitain*, and all his tranſmarine Territories, for his Contempt in not appearing (*t*)."

To this Relation, which doth not vary, in any material Point from the candid Accounts, delivered by the *French* Hiſtorians (*u*), it may be added, that the Death of the *Norman* Sailor is obſerved to have been occaſioned by his falling, during the Scuffle, on his own Dagger (*x*): That when his Countrymen preſented to *Philip*, a formal Complaint againſt the *Engliſh*, He, without attending to the Particulars of it, commanded them to

(*s*) The Ambaſſador of *Edward*, on this Occaſion, was *Richard de Graveſend*, Biſhop of *London*.

(*t*) Hemingsford. Hiſtoria de Rebus geſtis Edvard. I. &c. Vol. I. p. 39, 40, 41.

(*u*) P. Daniel.—Hiſtoire de France, V. 4. p. 358.—Hiſtoire de la Rivalitè de la France, et de l'Angleterre, par M. Gaillard, V. 3. p. 122, 123, 124.

(*x*) Walſingham, p. 58.

to purſue the Dictates of their Reſentment, and not trouble him any farther (*y*) : That the *Norman* Fleet (the Deſtination of which was to the *South*, for Wine, and other Articles,) conſiſted of two Hundred Veſſels, which, on their Return home, were intercepted by an *Engliſh* Squadron of ſixty Sail, and of a force ſuperior to theirs : that in the Action which followed, no Quarter was given, on either Side : and that the Number of the Killed, among the *French*, amounted to fifteen Thouſand Men : Theſe were the Soldiers, proceeding, aboard the *Norman* Ships on their Voyage, from the *South* (*z*).

The Tranſactions which followed this Event, as leading to a War that occaſioned the Employment of the Naval Force of *England*, are worthy of our Notice. It hath been obſerved that *Edward* refuſed to obey the Summons which He received from *Philip* (*a*), who, to puniſh him for his Contumacy, ſent a Body of Troops (under the Command of *Ralph de Neſle*,) to ſeize upon *Guienne*. The Officer reduced the Province to Submiſſion, without a Battle : a Circumſtance extraordinary in its Nature, and for which the two Parties have variouſly accounted.

The *French* alledge that the peaceful Surrender of this Territory, into the Hands of *Philip*, was no more than an Artifice, reſulting from the Policy of *Edward*, who, weary of Dependance, laid a Plan for the Extinction of his

(*y*) Walſingham, p. 58.

(*z*) Ibid. p. 60.

(*a*) A *French* Hiſtorian, whoſe great Abilities are equalled by his Candour, acknowledges that if the Laws of Fealty could have been rigorouſly enforced againſt a King of *England*, that King muſt have proved, of all Vaſſals the moſt wretched ; as likely to be compelled by every frivolous Citation, to croſs the Seas, and neglect the Care of his Dominions.—See Hiſtoire de la Rivalitè de la France, et de l'Angleterre, V. 3. p. 126.

his Fealty, by appearing to ſubmit to it. He ſuffered the Lord to levy the Forfeiture on his Provinces, that He might ceaſe to hold them as a Vaſſal to *France*, and, in Time, retake them, *by the Aſſiſtance of God, and of his Sword.* He had flattered himſelf that ſuch a Conqueſt would be eaſy, and atchieved either by the *Engliſh* Troops, or thoſe of his Allies. From thenceforward, it was his Determination to poſſeſs his Dominions, by the Rights of Sovereignty alone (*b*).

On the Contrary, the Relations of our Hiſtorians are that *Philip* impoſed upon the too eaſy Faith of *Edward* (*c*). The Earl of *Lancaſter*, Brother to the King, during his Abode, on this Buſineſs at *Paris*, had a private Conference with *Mary* of *Brabant*, the Queen Dowager of *France*, and *Jane* of *Navarre*, the Wife of the reigning Sovereign. Theſe Perſonages ſecretly informed him that howſoever exaſperated *Philip* might appear to be at the Violences committed againſt his Subjects, by thoſe of the Crown of *England*, yet He would accept of any Public Reparation, on the Part of *Edward*; and that Nothing more was neceſſary than for this Prince to ſurrender to him the ſix Fortreſſes of *Saintes*, *Talmont*, *Turon*, *Pumirol*, *Penne*, and *Montflanquin*, together with thoſe Aggreſſors whoſe Conduct had been the moſt diſpleaſing to the *French* Court. It was added that the whole Proceeding was intended merely as a Matter of Form, to preſerve the Honour of *Philip*, who, in the Moment that Satisfaction ſhould have been made, was determined to revoke the

(*b*) Hiſtoire de la Rivalitè de la France, et de l'Angleterre, V. 3. p. 128.

(*c*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 2. p. 619, 620.—Walter Hemingford, V. 1. p. 42, 43.—T. Walſingham, p. 61.—Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. 1. p. 276, 277.

the Summons, to give back the Towns, to ſet the Perſons delivered up at Liberty, and grant a ſafe Conduct to *Edward*, from whom He would receive the neceſſary Homage, at *Amiens*. To theſe Terms, the Earl of *Lancaſter*, by Virtue of the Commiſſion from his Brother, acknowledged his Readineſs to ſubmit, provided that the two Queens would ſign, and ſolemnly ratify them upon Oath. This being accordingly complied with, Advices of the Succeſs of the Negociation were diſpatched to *Edward*, who, rejoiced at the Event, and anxious, when on the Point of waging War againſt *Scotland*, to obtain a ſolid Peace with *France*, relinquiſhed more than had been aſked, impowering the Earl to ſurrender to *Philip*, all *Guienne*, on the Condition that in the Preſence of reſpectable Witneſſes, He ſhould promiſe to fulfil the Treaty ſigned by the two Queens. When Application was made to the *French* Monarch for this Purpoſe, He aſſembled his Conſort, together with *Mary* of *Brabant*, *Blanch* of *Navarre*, the Wife of *Edmund*, Earl of *Lancaſter*, the Duke of *Burgundy*, the great Officers of the Court, and the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, before whom He paſſed his royal Word for the Performance of the Treaty, directing the Biſhop of *Orleans* to publiſh, at the ſame Time, the Revocation of the Summons iſſued out to *Edward*. When this Buſineſs was concluded, the Earl ſent an Expreſs to Sir *John de Havering*, the *Seneſchal*, and Sir *John de Saint Jahn*, the Deputy-Governor of *Guienne* (*d*), commanding them to deliver up that Dukedom to the Conſtable, *Ralph de Neſle*, who was charged to take poſſeſſion of it, in the Name of the King of *France*. Previous to a Compliance with this Order, the *Seneſchal* object-

(*d*) The Order was ſent from *Paris*, and dated on the third of February, in the Year one Thouſand, two Hundred, and ninety-three.—Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. 2. p. 619.

objected to a Surrender which He deemed inconſiſtent with the ſecret Articles of the Treaty, as they had been explained to him by the Earl; but *de Neſle* replied that He was an abſolute Stranger to any private Agreements between the two Powers; and that as He had received particular Directions from his Sovereign, to ſeize upon *Guienne*, as belonging to the Crown of *France*, ſo He ſhould not waſte his Time in liſtening to Conditions. The *Seneſchal* who, although He had taken the Liberty to remonſtrate, felt the Neceſſity of obeying, gave up the Province, and immediately withdrew to *Paris*.

No ſooner were the Terms of the Treaty acceded to, on the Part of *England*, than the Earl of *Lancaſter* applied to the Queens, *Mary* of *Brabant*, and *Jane* of *Navarre*, for the promiſed Reſtitution of *Guienne*. He was anſwered that *Philip* had not yet ſufficiently diſſembled for the Advancement of his Purpoſes; and that He muſt expect to receive from that Monarch a public Denial of his Requeſt, after which, they had the royal Authority to aſſure him that all private Stipulations ſhould be ſcrupulouſly complied with. Duped by theſe Artifices, He was prevailed on to attend the Council, in the Preſence, and with the Applauſe of whom, *Philip* haughtily refuſed to give back to *Edward*, the Dukedom of *Guienne*. The Earl of *Lancaſter*, inſtructed by the Queens, ſeemed overwhelmed with Indignation, and Aſtoniſhment. In this pretended Humour, He retired to the Anti-chamber, expecting the Arrival of the King to gratify the Deſires of *Edward*, by the Performance of a ſolemn, although a ſecret Promiſe. Here, He waited for ſome Time, unnoticed: At length, the Biſhops of *Orleans* and *Tournay* were ſent to acquaint Him that He was at Liberty to depart, and muſt not, thenceforward, preſume to trou-

ble *Philip* with any Meſſages on the Subject (*e*): Shortly afterwards, the Parliament of *France* was aſſembled, and their Sovereign, without deigning to give the Earl of *Lancaſter* the ſlighteſt Intimation of his Deſign, commanded that the King of *England* ſhould be publicly cited to appear, and anſwer to the Charge advanced in the Summons. During this Tranſaction, the Earl was abſent from the Court; yet the Ambaſſadors *Hugh de Vere*, and *John de Lacy* demanded, in the Name of *Edward*, an immediate Audience, at which, they remonſtrated, in the ſevereſt Terms, againſt a Proceeding ſo contrary to the Articles of the Treaty, and unlawfully extended to the Renewal of a Citation which had not only been annulled in the uſual Forms, but even from the Mouth of *Philip*. They were diſmiſſed with an abſolute Refuſal of the leaſt Satisfaction, and their earlieſt Interceſſions that the Court would poſtpone, for a ſingle Day, the final Determination of the Matter, in order that the Earl of *Lancaſter* might be again conſulted, were ſcornfully rejected. The laſt Sentence was pronounced valid, and the Dukedom of *Guienne* became confiſcate to the Crown of *France* (*f*).

Such are the Cauſes aſſigned by the Hiſtorians of the two Nations, for the rapid, and eaſy Reduction of the *Engliſh* Provinces, on the *Continent*, under the Power of *Philip*. Yet, we may reaſonably infer (with a diſcerning Writer (*g*) the Improbability that *Edward*, if able to ſecure his tranſmarine Territories, would have connived at the Seizure of them, in the precarious Hopes

(*e*) Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. 2. p. 622, 634.

(*f*) Matt. Weſtmonaſt. p. 421.—Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. 2. p. 620—T. Walſinghani, p. 61.—Nic. Trivet. Annal. V. 1. p. 278.

(*g*) Hiſtoire de la Rivalitède la France, et de l'Angleterre, par M. Gaillard, V. 3. p. 131.

Hopes of retaking, and afterwards poſſeſſing them by a more advantageous Title. The Surrender of a whole Dukedom to an Enemy who demanded only ſix Fortreſſes, is, in the Opinion of the ſame Author (*h*), a Circumſtance which may ſtagger our Belief. But this hath been accounted for by the Evidence of the Earl of *Lancaſter* himſelf, who remarks that in order to place in a more conſpicuous Point of View the Reparation of the Inſult on the Dignity of *Philip*, and firmly to eſtabliſh a Peace with that Monarch, He was commanded by the King of *England* to ſurrender, in his Name, all *Guienne* to the Crown of *France*, on the Condition that, purſuant to the ſecret Articles of a Treaty, it ſhould afterwards be reſtored. The immediate, and uninterrupted Conqueſt of the Province is alleged (*i*) to have been occaſioned by the Negligence of *Edward* who, buſied in his military Preparations againſt the *Scots*, and, at the ſame Time, amuſed by the Promiſes of the two Queens, and Offers from *Philip* of the Princeſs *Margaret* for his Conſort, left his Garriſons defenceleſs, and of Courſe, an eaſy Capture to the Conſtable *de Neſle*. In Anſwer to this, We muſt obſerve that the King of *England*, aware of the dangerous Situation of his tranſmarine Dominions, had, previous to the Overture of a Treaty, diſpatched Sir *John de Saint John*, a brave, and experienced Commander, to *Guienne*, with orders to aſſemble the Troops, and fortify the Garriſons that they might be able to reſiſt any ſudden Attack, on the Part of *Philip* (*k*). Such a Circumſtance is a Proof that if *Edward* had not been impoſed on by the Artifices of the *French* Court, which prompted him to give Directions

(*h*) Hiſtoire de la Rivalitè de la France, et de l'Angleterre, par M. Gaillard, Vol. 3. p. 131.

(*i*) Ibid.

(*k*) Nic. Trivet. Annal. V. 1. p. 276.

rections for the peaceable Surrender of the Dukedom, the Conſtable *de Neſle* could never have taken Poſſeſſion of it, without being reduced to the uſual Neceſſity of either beſieging a Town, or engaging in a Battle. Of the ſecret Stipulations which were ſo treacherouſly infringed by *Philip*, We can have no Reaſon to entertain the ſlighteſt Doubt, ſince, on the one Hand, they are mentioned, with bitter Reproaches againſt the King of *France*, in the Letters of *Edward*, to the Prelares, and Barons of *Guienne* (*l*): Whilſt on the other Hand, thoſe Hiſtorians (*m*) "in whom the Love of their Country hath not extinguiſhed the Love of Truth," acknowledge that it is difficult to clear *Philip* from the Charge of having acted fraudulently in the Courſe of this Negociation. Even the beſt Excuſe which hath been advanced in his Favour ſerves only to ſhew that his Guilt was not without a Precedent. Such is the Obſervation (*n*) that theſe Artifices are but the common Stratagems in the ordinary Syſtem of Politics (*o*).

(*l*) Act. Pub. V. 2. p. 637, 639, 641, 642, 644, 647, &c.

(*m*) P. Daniel. Hiſtoire de France.—Hiſtoire de la Rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre, par. M. Galliard, V. 3. p. 132.

(*n*) Ibid.

(*o*) The following Words, in the Recantation of the Homage which had been done by *Edward*, to *Philip*, are a Confirmation of the Particulars, in the preceding Narrative.

"Our Ambaſſadors ſhall ſay thus to tae King of *France*."

"Sire! Our Lord, the King of *England*, Lord of *Ire-*
"*land*, and Duke of *Aquitain*, did You Homage conditional-
"ly: namely, according to the Form of the Peace made
"between your Anceſtors, and His, which You have not
"kept. Moreover, that all Differences between Your Sub-
"jects, and His, might be ended, a ſecret Treaty was made
"between You, and the Lord *Edmund*, his Brother; as You
"may

From this Epoch, the two rival Sovereigns, *Edward* and *Philip*, prepared for War. The First, ſenſible that the total Loſs of his foreign Provinces had rendered him unable to contend ſingly, for their Recovery, againſt the Power of *France*, formed Alliances with *Adolphus de Naſſau*, King of the *Romans* (*p*); *Amadeus*, Count of *Savoy*; the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*; the Duke of *Brabant*; the Earl of *Barre*; and the Courts of *Holland*; *Juliers*; and *Luxemberg*. At the ſame Time, He ſent an Army to *Guienne*, under the Command of his Nephew, *John de Bretagne*, Earl of *Richmond*, who was attended by *Tibetot*, *Saint John*, *Hugh de Vere*, and other Officers of diſtinguiſhed Reputation (*q*). Three formidable Squadrons were alſo equipped, to intercept the Enemy, and fruſtrate their Attempts to make a Deſcent upon the *Engliſh* Coaſts. The Firſt proceeded from *Yarmouth*, with the Admiral, *John de Botetort*, and covered the *Eaſtern* Part of the Iſland; the Second commanded by *William de Leiburne* (*r*), ſailed from *Portſmouth*, and cruized to the *Southward*; The Third was

" may remember, containing certain Articles which You " have not performed; although He hath done more than " was promiſed on his Part. After that, He required You " twice, by his ſaid Brother; and, a third Time by the " Peers of *France*, and other great Men of the Kingdom, to " reſtore Him his Land of *Guienne*, and to deliver up thoſe " of His Subjects whom You detain in Priſon; which You " have refuſed. And, therefore, it ſeems to Him, that You " no longer count Him your Vaſſal; and accordingly He " refuſes to be ſo for the Future."—Act. Pub. V. 2. p. 650.

(*p*) Walter Hemingford, Vol. 1. p. 51.

(*q*) Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. 1. p. 279.—Hiſtoire de France, par J. de Serres, p. 174.

(*r*) On this Perſon, the Title, and Office of (*Admirallus Maris Angliæ*,) Admiral of the *Engliſh* Sea, was conferred in the Year one Thouſand, two Hundred, and eighty-ſix.

was appointed to guard the *Weſtern Coaſt* (*s*), and protect the Kingdom of *Ireland*, from Invaſion.

We learn (*t*) that amongſt the Allies of *Philip the Fair*, of *France*, were *Erit*, King of *Norway*; (whom *Edward* had offended, by refuſing him the Crown of *Scotland*,) *Albert*, Duke of *Auſtria*, Son of the Emperor *Rodolphus*; and (what an Hiſtorian (*u*) mentions as an extraordinary Circumſtance,) ſome Cities of *Caſtile*, together with the *Commons* of *Fontarabia*, and *Saint Sebaſtian*. It hath more juſtly been remarked (*x*) that theſe maritime, and commercial Places were intereſted either in ſelling, or lending, for a ſtipulated Sum, their Ships to *France*; and that *Philip* not being ſufficiently provided with a Navy, felt it equally expedient to court an Alliance, in Conſequence of which He might obtain the neceſſary Armaments. In the Life-Time of the preceding Monarch, it was diſgracefully apparent with what Superiority the *Spaniſh* Fleets contended againſt thoſe of *France*, during the Wars of *Caſtile*, *Arragon*, and *Sicily*. The Reign of Saint *Lewis* is obſerved (*y*) to have been a more brilliant Æra of the *French* Marine. His Fleets are recorded to have *cover-*

(*s*) Mr. *Lediard* * obſerves that the *Name* of the Admiral who commanded the third Squadron, is not mentioned in Hiſtory. This cannot abſolutely be ſtiled a Miſtake. The Manuſcript Copy of the Annals of *Nicholas Trivet* (preſerved in the Library of *Merton* College, at *Oxford*,) is more explicit: There, although without the Inſertion of a *Name*, the Admiral is deſcribed as a valiant Knight of *Ireland*, and deſcended from the noble Houſe of *Ormonde*.

* Naval Hiſtory of England, V. 1. Folio. p. 34.

(*t*) Hiſtoire de la Rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre, par M. Gaillard, V. 3. p. 133.

(*u*) Abbé Velly.

(*x*) Hiſtoire de la Rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre par M. Gaillard, Vol. 3. p. 134.

(*y*) Ibid. p. 135.

ed all the Seas (*z*): At one Period, they defended the Coaſts of *Poictou*, when attacked by the Force of *Henry* the Third of *England*; At another Period, they aſſiſted in the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, for the Service of the Count of *Anjou*. The Ships which attended Saint *Lewis*, on his Voyage to the Coaſt of *Africa* were powerful, and numerous. At his Departure from *Cyprus*, the Fleet conſiſted of eighteen Hundred Veſſels, including the ſmall Tranſports (*a*). The Armaments of *Aigues-Mortes* were ſtill more conſiderable (*b*). During the ſucceeding Reigns, the Marine of *France* became leſs formidable, yet was, by no means, falling to Decay. Multitudes of Veſſels, the Force of which hath been already mentioned, were perpetually fitted out, although the Kingdom remained deſtitute of a royal Navy. Whenſoever the Trade of the Sea-Ports was interrupted by War, the Merchants lent their Veſſels to the Crown, at the Expence of which they were converted into Ships of Battle. The Sovereigns of *France* alſo concluded Treaties with Maritime Powers, and with commercial Towns which agreed to furniſh a certain Number of Veſſels. Such was the Treaty of *Philip* the *Fair* with the *Commons* of *Fontarabia*, and of Saint *Sebaſtian*. The Naval Reſources of *France* were, for a conſiderable Length of Time, obtained from *Spain*, *Piſa*, *Venice*, and *Genoa*. It was not until after the Acceſſion of *Francis* the Firſt, that any Marine belonged particularly to the Crown. A Supply of Ships was the chief Object of the Alliance formed with *Eric*, King of *Norway*: This Potentate agreed

(*z*) Hiſtoire de la Rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre, par M. Gaillard, V. 3. p. 135.

(*a*) Joinville.

(*b*) Hiſtoire de la Rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre, par M. Gaillard, V. 3. p. 135.

agreed to furniſh *Philip* with two Hundred *Gallies*, equipped (as moſt of thoſe conſtructed in that Æra were), with Sails, and Oars; an hundred Tranſports; and fifty Thouſand Soldiers. He did not, however, fulfil a ſingle Article of the Treaty; and *France* continued without any ſerviceable *Northern* Ally, except the King of *Scotland* (*c*).

Beſides the three Squadrons already mentioned as having been appointed by *Edward* to protect the Coaſts, a Fleet was equipped, conſiſting of three Hundred, and Twenty-five Sail (*d*), which, on the Twenty-fifth of *January*, in ths Year, one Thouſand, two Hundred, and Ninety-five, proceeded, under the Command of *Edmund*, Earl of *Lancaſter*, attended by *Henry de Lacy*, Earl of *Lincoln*, to the Mouth of the *Garonne* (*e*). Here, an Army of ſeven Thouſand Men diſembarked, and penetrating into *Guienne*, took the Towns of *Bourg*, and *Blaye*: From thence, they repaired to *Bourdeaux*, and, after having raiſed the Siege of that Place, marched to *Bayonne*, which they won by Aſſault (*f*). In the following Year, three Hundred Sail of *French* Ships, commanded by *Matthew de Montmorenci*, and *John de Harcourt*, appeared off *Dover*, where a conſiderable Military Force made a Deſcent, and aſſiſted by Sir *Thomas Turberville*, a Traitor in Arms againſt his

(*c*) Hiſtoire de la Rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre, par M. Gaillard, V. 3. p. 136.

(*d*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 2. p. 688, 699.—Matt. Weſtm.—T. Walſingham.—Mr. Secretary *Burchett* (who is, probably, miſtaken,) makes the Fleet amount to three Hundred, and Sixty Ships.

(*e*) Father *Daniel* obſerves that a Body of the Troops, carried out on this Expedition, firſt diſembarked at the *Iſle* of *Rhee*, where they put the Inhabitants of the Sword, and reduced their Houſes to Aſhes.

(*f*) Nic. Trivet. Annal. V. 1. p. 280—Walter Hemingford, Vol. 1. p. 56.

Country, attacked, and reduced that Sea-Port to Aſhes (*g*). At Length, they were ſeverely repulſed by the *Engliſh*, who, ſlaying eight Hundred of their Men, compelled the Reſt to flee for Shelter to their Veſſels (*h*). It hath been obſerved (*i*) of the Troops levied, on this Occaſion, by the King of *France*, that they might have conquered *England*; but that they did not ſucceed in any Enterprize, except the Demolition of *Dover*.

In the Year one Thouſand, two Hundred, and Ninety-ſix, a Fleet, equipped at *Yarmouth*, ſailed towards the Coaſt of *Normandy*, on which the Forces landed, attacked and plundered the Town of *Cherburg*, together with its valuable Abbey, and afterwards retreated to their Ships (*k*). About the ſame Period, the *Portſmouth* Squadron engaged, and took fifteen *Spaniſh* Merchant-Men, and brought them, with their rich Cargoes, into the Harbour of *Sandwich* (*l*). The Commanders of the Naval Armaments employed on the Expedition againſt *Scotland* were leſs ſucceſsful. Arriving before *Berwick*, with above twenty Ships, and perceiving the Army of *Edward* drawn up in Battle Array on the adjacent Plain, they ſuppoſed that the Military Operations were on the Point of being directed immediately againſt the Town, and therefore, too haſtily, gave Orders for ſailing into the Port, where an Action enſued, during which the *Scots* deſtroyed Four of

(*g*) F. Daniel.

(*h*) Nic. Trivet. Annal. V. 1. p. 284, 285.—Mezeray, V. 2. p. 789.—Walter Hemingford, V. 1. p. 59.—H. Knyghton, p. 2503, 2504.

(*i*) Hiſtoire de la Rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre, par M. Galliard, V. 3. p. 144.—Guilliaume de Nangis.

(*k*) Nic. Trivet. Annal. V. 1. p. 284.

(*l*) Thom. Walſingham, Hiſt. Angl. p. 64.

of the *Engliſh* Ships (*m*) : The Reſt eſcaped with Difficulty (*n*).

The King, having compleated his Preparations for the Invaſion of *Flanders*, ſailed from *Winchelſea* (*o*), with a powerful Squadron, on board of which were one Thouſand, and five Hundred Men at Arms, together with fifty Thouſand Foot, (thirty Thouſand of which were *Welch* (*p*), and landed ſhortly afterwards in the Neighbourhood of *Sluys* (*q*). Here, a violent Contention aroſe between the Mariners belonging to the Ships which had been fitted out by the *Cinque Ports*, and the Crews ſerving on board the *Yarmouth* Diviſion of the Fleet. *Edward*, remonſtrating againſt the Criminality and Weakneſs of fomenting a private Quarrel, in the Moment when they were called upon to aſſiſt in the Defence of their Sovereign, and their Country, endeavoured to reconcile the Parties. From Intreaties He proceeded to Commands ; but both were equally ineffectual. A deſperate Action enſued, in the Courſe of which Twenty-five of the Ships in the *Yarmouth* Squadron were burnt, and moſt of the Sailors drowned. Three of the largeſt Men of War in the Royal Navy, (one of which was laden with a Part of the Treaſure) ſtood out to Sea, and were fortunately preſerved (*r*).

At this Period, *Philip* was extending his Conqueſts through the Territories of *Flanders*. Whilſt the *Engliſh* Monarch remained at *Ghent*, engaged in compoſing

(*m*) A. D. 1296.

(*n*) Holingſhed.—H. Knyghton, p. 2512.—Walter Hemingford, Vol. I. p. 90.—Thom. Walſingham. Hiſt. Angl. p. 66.

(*o*) Auguſt 22, 1297.

(*p*) H. Knyghton.

(*q*) Auguſt 27.

(*r*) T. Walſingham, Hiſt. Angl.—Nic. Trivet. Annal. V. 1. p. 304.—Walter Hemingford, V. 1. p. 146.

the Differences which had ariſen amongſt the *Flemings*, He received the News of the Surrender of *Liſle* to the *French* Troops, after a Siege of three Months. The Capture of this Place was ſoon followed by the Reduction of *Douay*, and *Courtray*. From thence, *Philip* proceeded to *Bruges*, the Citizens of which threw open the Gate to admit him. Here, He directed the Count *de Valois*, his Brother, and the Conſtable *de Neſle*, to repair to *Dam*, and burn the whole *Engliſh* Fleet, at that Time, lying at Anchor within the Harbour. The Execution of this Project was fruſtrated by a Want of Secrecy in the *Count de Valois*; and *Edward*, acquainted with the Deſigns of the Enemy, provided for the Security of his Ships, by giving orders that they ſhould immediately ſail for *England* (*s*). Thither, at the Cloſe of the Winter, He returned with his Army, after having yielded to the Neceſſity in which the Treachery of his Allies involved Him, and concluded a Truce with his Opponent (*t*). By this, it was ſtipulated that *Edward* ſhould marry *Margaret*, the Siſter to *Philip*; and that *Iſabella*, the Daughter to the *French* Monarch ſhould become the Wife of *Edward*, the Son of the King of *England*. This Truce was frequently renewed, and, at Length (*u*), ſucceeded by the Concluſion of a Peace (*u*), the third Article of which expreſsly declared that the two Sovereigns were bound to refuſe all aſſiſtance whatſoever to the Enemies of each Other, and to prevent them from receiving any Succour from the Inhabitants of either Kingdom, who were forbidden to grant it, on Pain of loſing their Lives and Properties.

No

(*s*) Holingſhed's Chronicle, p. 304.—Nic. Trivet. Annal. V. 1. p. 305.

(*t*) A. D. 1299.—Rymer's Fœdera, V. 2. p. 840.

(*u*) May 20, 1303.

(*x*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 2. p. 925.

No material Occurrences connected with the Subject of this Work aroſe during the Sequel of the Reign of *Edward*, who, in the Bitterneſs of Revenge, preparing at the Head of a formidable Army, to enter *Scotland*, and deſtroy, as He had threatened, that Kingdom, from Sea to Sea; was ſtopped in his Progreſs, by a violent Indiſpoſition, at *Burgh upon the Sands*, in *Cumberland*, where He expired, in the ſixty-eighth Year of his Age, and the thirty-fifth from his Acceſſion to the Throne. In his laſt Moments, He adviſed his Son never to ceaſe from the Proſecution of the War, until He had entirely ſubdued the People againſt whom it was directed: "*And, carry*," (added the vain-glorious Monarch,) "*my Bones in the Front of your Army. Thus ſhall* "*You be ſecure of Victory. The Sight of them will intimi-*" *date thoſe Enemies whom I have ſo often conquered* (*y*)." In the Opinion of ſome Hiſtorians, theſe Words expreſs the feelings of a gallant Mind. But the *Scots* (and their Courage is acknowledged,) muſt have been the moſt puſillanimous Race exiſting, if this Death-bed Obſervation was leſs abſurd, than arrogant.

The martial Character of *Edward* bears ſome Reſemblance to that of *Richard*. Like this Monarch, He was enterprizing, ſagacious, watchful, brave, and perſevering; but fierce, vindictive, and tyrannical. In his Legiſlative Capacity, a Point of View at which, (if we except his Maritime, and Commercial Regulations,) it is not neceſſary to conſider Him, the Parallel muſt drop. Be it ſufficient to remark that He acquired, and, in a great Meaſure, deſerved the Title of the *Juſtinian* of

(*y*) Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 346, 347.—Walter Hemingford, V. 1. p. 237, 238, 239.—Johan. Fordun de Scoti-Chronicon. V. 4. p. 1003.—T. Walſingham. Hiſt. Angl. p. 94.---Chron. Godſtovian, p. 103---Thom. Sprot. Chronic. p. 112.---R. Fabian, p, 194.---H. Knyghton, p. 2530.

of *England* (*z*). The Strength of his Naval Power, and Zeal for the Preſervation of it were equally conſpicuous. Of theſe, the Reader hath been furniſhed with Examples; And We ſhall only add ſome Circumſtances out of ſeveral which confirm the Propriety of a former Obſervation to his unfortunate Succeſſor, He left a numerous, but afterwards neglected Fleet. An Inſtance of his Determination to ſupport the Sovereignty of it, on the Ocean, is evident from the Charge given to his Sea-Commanders, that they ſhould "eſpecially, vindicate, and maintain the Dominion "which his Anceſtors, the Kings of *England* were "wont to have in the ſaid Sea, ſo far as concerns the "Amendment, Declaration, and Interpretation of the "Laws, by Them made to govern all Manner of "Nations, paſſing through the ſaid Sea (*a*)." Another Proof of the Maritime Power of *Edward* may be diſcovered in the Caſe of the *Dutch*, who, as they were forbidden, did not, at any Period, preſume to fiſh near the *Britiſh* Coaſts, without a Licence (*b*).

Whatſoever refers to our Coin (the Standard of which was firſt perfectly fixed by *Edward* (*c*), is ſo cloſely united with Commerce, that (until We approach the

(*z*) Sir Edward Coke's Inſtitutes, p. 156---Sir Matthew Hale's Hiſtory of the Engliſh Law, p. 158.

(*a*) "Eſpecialment a retenir, et maintenir la Sovereigntè "que ces Anceſtres, Royes d'Engleterre, ſoloyent avoir en "la dite Mier d'Engleterre, quant a L'Amendement, De-"claration, et Interpretations des Lois per eux faitz a go-"verner toutes Maners des Gentz paſſanz per la dite Mier." ---Faſc. de Superioritate Maris Angliæ, in Arce Londinenſi. --- Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, Folio. V. 1. p. 35.

(*b*) The Form of this Permiſſion is amongſt the Records of the Reign of *Edward*. It begins; "Pro Hominibus Hol-"landiæ," &c.---For the Men of *Holland*, &c. to have Leave to Fiſh near *Yarmouth*.---Ibid.

(*c*) Evelyn's Numiſm, p. 233.---Lowndes, p. 94.

the later Periods,) the Reader may poſſibly expect a more particular Inquiry concerning this Point. It is recorded in the ancient Leidger-Book, belonging to the Abbey of Saint *Edmunſbury* (*d*), that in the third Year of the Reign of this Prince, *Gregory Rockley*, at that Time, Lord Mayor of *London*, and Maſter of the *Mint*, obtained a Regulation that in a Pound of Money, there ſhould be eleven Ounces, and Two-pence, farthing of pure Leaf Silver; and only ſeventeen Pence, and a Half-penny-Farthing of Alloy. The Weight of the Pound was fixed at twenty Shillings, and Three-pence in Account; each Ounce being Twenty Pence, and every Penny twenty-four Grains, and a Half. In the Twenty-eighth Year of *Edward*, an indented Trial-Piece of the Goodneſs of old Sterling was lodged in the Exchequer, and every Pound-Weight-Troy of ſuch Silver was to be ſhorn at twenty Shillings, and Three-pence, according to which the Value of the Silver in the Coin was one Shilling, and Eight-Pence-Farthing an Ounce. Ten Years before this Period, ſeveral Foreign Mint-Maſters were invited to reſide in *England*: With theſe, came *William de Furnemire*, from *Marſeilles*, and one *Freſcobald*, of *Florence*, from whom was gathered the Account of the Manner of making, and forging Money. Firſt, the Silver was caſt from the melting Pot into long Bars; Next, thoſe Bars were cut with Sheers into ſquare Pieces of exact Weights; Then, with the Tongs, and Hammer, they were forged into a round Shape; After that, they were blanched, or made white, by Boiling; In the laſt Proceſs, they were ſtamped by a Hammer, in order to make them perfect Money. The Additions to the Red Book of the Exchequer informs us that theſe Mint-Maſters had

(*d*) Camden's Remains.—Chapter of Money.

had thirty Furnaces at *London*, eight at *Canterbury*, (where the Archbiſhop had alſo three,) twelve at *Briſtol*, twelve at *York*, and more in other capital Towns, in all which Places, the ſame hammered Money of Silver was ſupplied by the Changers belonging to the King who, according to certain Rates preſcribed them took in the clipped, rounded, and counterfeited Monies to be recoined, and bought Gold, and Silver, of the Merchants to be fabricated into new Monies. All Perſons were, at the ſame Time, forbidden, on pain of loſing their Lives, and Limbs, together with the Confiſcation of their Eſtates, to clip any of the new Coin (*e*). This hammered Money was continued through all the Reigns of the ſucceeding Kings, and Queens, until about the Year one Thouſand, ſix Hundred, and Sixty-three (*f*).

Amongſt the remarkable Corruptions of the Coin, the ancient Records of this Reign mention the Importation of ſeveral Kinds of light Money, which bore either a Mitre, or a Lion. Some were of Copper blanched, to reſemble the Money of *England*. Others were like that of King *Edward*. The Reſt were plated, and called *Pollards*, *Crocards*, *Staldings*, *Eagles*, *Leonines*, and *Steepings*. Two pieces of theſe were only of the Value of one *Sterling* Piece, their Compoſition being an artificial Mixture of Silver, Copper, and Sulphur

(*e*) "Proclametur per totum Regnum quod nulla fiat Tonſura de nova Moneta ſub Periculo Vitæ, et Membrorum, et Amiſſionis omnium Terrarum, et Tenementorum," &c. —See Madox's Hiſtory of the Exchequer.

(*f*) Ibid.—Evelyn's Numiſm.—Stowe's Survey of London, Chap. Tower.—Chamberlain's Not. Angl. Edit. 16. p. 11, 12.—Statute of *Articuli ſuper Chartas* 28, Ed. 1.——Biſhop Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library; folio, p. 255.---Rapin's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 3. p. 328.

phur (*g*). The Merchants, to avoid the Search at *Dover* and *Sandwich*, concealed the Parcels in Bales of Cloth, and brought them in, by other Ports. To ſuch a Length were theſe fraudulent Proceedings carried that the Coin of *England* was daily ſinking from its Value (*h*). A Proclamation was accordingly iſſued which cried down all Money not coined in *England*, *Ireland*, or *Scotland*. It alſo directed that Perſons arriving from beyond the Seas ſhould ſhew the Money which they brought with them to the Officers belonging to the King; that they ſhould not hide it in Fardels, upon Pain of Forfeiture; that the light and clipped Money ſhould be bored through, without Contradiction; that the ſame ſhould be received, and paid by Weight at a certain Rate; and that Perſons having ſuch Money ſhould bring it to the Changers, who, as well as the Maſters of the *Mint*, had ſeveral Offices erected in divers Parts of the Kingdom, at which the Silver of the bad Money was brought in, that the *Pollards*, *Crocards*, and other counterfeſt Coin, might be effectually cried down (*i*). A Writ was alſo directed to the Sheriffs, prohibiting the Importation of clipped, or counterfeit Monies, and the Uſe thereof in Merchandize, or other Negociations under ſevere Penalties, and commanding thoſe that had ſuch Money to bore it through, and to bring it to the King's Change to be new coined (*k*).

The

(*g*) Coke's Inſtitutes.—Ibid,---Biſhop Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library.——Ibid.

(*h*) " Les queulx Choſes ſi elles fuiſſent long tems ſoef-" ferts, Elles metteyrent la Monye d'Angliterre a rienk.---V. Libr. Rubr. Sc.

(*i*) Que les Pollards, et Cockards, et let autres mauvaiſes Moneys contrefaits ſerons abatues.---. bid.

(*k*) Ibid.---Rapin.

The Practices of clipping were the moſt frequent amongſt the *Jews*, two Hundred, and Eighty of whom were hanged, at one Time, for this Offence. Fifteen Thouſand were at laſt driven out of *England*. Of Theſe, Numbers embarked on board a Veſſel belonging to the *Cinque Ports*, and, after having been plundered by the Captain, and the Mariners, of all their Property, were thrown into the Sea. Many of the *Barbarians* who committed theſe Outrages were tried, condemned, and executed (*l*). If the *Jews* had repreſſed their Uſury, and Adulteration of the Coin, it is probable that the Sentence of Baniſhment (*m*) would never have been enforced againſt them: And We may, beſides, ſuppoſe that their Power of purchaſing, by immenſe Sums, the Protection of the Crown, was almoſt exhauſted, as, only from the ſeventeenth of *December*, in the fiftieth Year of the Reign of *Henry* the Third, until the *Shrove-Tueſday* in the ſecond Year of The Reign of *Edward* the Firſt, they paid into the royal Treaſury, four Hundred, and twenty Thouſand Pounds, fifteen Shillings, and Four-Pence (*n*).

Before We quit this Subject, it may be proper to obſerve that the Dowry which *Edward* ſettled upon the Princeſs *Margaret*, amounted to eighteen Thouſand Livres, *per Annum*, or four Thouſand, five Hundred Pounds Sterling (*o*), by which it appears that four *French* Livres were, in that Age worth an *Engliſh* Pound. A Naval, and Commercial Writer (*p*) with great Juſtice, ſuppoſes that the Knowledge of this Circumſtance

(*l*) T. Wikes, p. 122.

(*m*) Paſſed January 14, 1290.---T. Wikes, p. 118.---Prynne's Brevia Parliamentaria Rediviva.

(*n*) Coke's ſecond Inſtitute, p. 506.

(*o*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 2. p. 854.

(*p*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 240.

cumſtance is of much Conſequence in the Explanation of the Tranſactions relating to a Part of the thirteenth, and fourteenth Centuries. "This comparative Value "of Coin (He adds) is a Subject hitherto hardly con- "ſidered; and yet ancient Hiſtories are untelligible, "without Regard being paid to it (*q*)."

The Indulgence granted by *Edward* to the Merchants, are convincing Proofs of his Determination to advance the Welfare of Commerce. In the Year one Thouſand, two Hundred, and Eighty-ſix, a Permiſſion was given for thoſe who came from Abroad to rent Houſes, and to buy, and ſell their own Commodities, without the Interference of Agents: Until this Period, they hired Lodgings, and their Landlords, who were appointed the Brokers, diſpoſed, in their Name, of the different Articles of their Trade (*r*). They alſo enjoyed a Charter wherein the Protection, and Privileges to which they became intitled were clearly aſcertained, and the Cuſtoms, and Duties to be exacted from them, on Account of their Imports and Exports, preciſely ſettled. Juries, conſiſting Half of Natives, and Half of Foreigners, were allowed them on their Trials; the Security of their Perſons and Properties, was alſo intruſted to the Care of a Juſticiary in *London*, and an eaſy Method eſtabliſhed for the Recovery of their Debts (*s*). Yet theſe Advantages were counterpoiſed by a ſevere Condition: Every foreign Merchant was made anſwerable for the Debts, and even for the Crimes of his Countrymen, trading within the Kingdom (*t*). They were likewiſe ſubject to an additional Duty of two Shil-

(*q*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 240.

(*r*) Fabian's Chronicle.

(*s*) Statute of Acton Burnel, ſo called from a Parliament holden at this Place, in Shropſhire.

(*t*) Anderſon's Hiſtory of Commerce, V. 1. p. 146.

Shillings on each imported Ton of Wine; and forty Pence on each exported Sack of Wool, beſides the old Duty of half a Mark.

In the twenty-fourth Year of the Reign of *Edward*, the Society of *Merchant-Adventurers* was firſt eſtabliſhed, for the Improvement of the Woollen Manufacture, and the Sale of Cloth, abroad, particularly at *Antwerp* (*u*). From the Remonſtrance drawn up by *Humphry de Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford*, the Conſtable, and *Roger Bigod*, Earl of *Norfolk*, the *Mareſchal* of *England*, and preſented to the King at *Winchelſea*, when He was preparing to embark for *Flanders*, We learn that Wool was a Commodity equal in Value to half the Lands in the Nation. If the Complaints of theſe powerful Lords were juſtly founded, it muſt be confeſſed that *Edward* was, at Times, as much the arbitrary Oppreſſor of Trade, as, on ſome Occaſions, He had approved Himſelf its ſtrenuous Protector. The forcible Seizure of Leather, Corn, Cattle, but eſpecially of Wool, (the Cuſtom of which was raiſed from twenty, to forty Shillings a Sack,) was not only a daring Violation of the Great Charter, and that of Foreſts, but a ſtrong Obſtacle to the Progreſs of Commerce (*x*). Yet, Be it remembered that this Prince, at length, conſcious of the Neceſſity of appeaſing thoſe Subjects whom He had oppreſſed, confirmed at *Ghent*, on the fifth of *November*, in the Year one Thouſand, two Hundred, and Ninety-ſeven, the Charters of King *John*, by an authentic Act, to which He affixed the Great Seal of *England*, as alſo the Clauſe diveſting him of the Power (until that Period, ſo wantonly exerciſed,)

(*u*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 4. p. 361. This is a Confirmation by *Edward* the Third of the Charter granted by his Predeceſſor, *Edward* the Firſt.

(*x*) Anderſon's Hiſtory of Commerce, V. 1. p. 137.

piſed,) of impoſing arbitrary Taxes upon the People. Two Explanations in this Statute are Evidences that the Freedom of Trade was replaced upon a firmer Baſis. The Firſt enacted that no Officer belonging to *Edward*, or his Heirs ſhould, in Future, take away the Corn, Proviſions, or any other Goods whatſoever, without the Conſent of the Owner: By the Second, it was provided that Nothing ſhould be thereafter demanded for any Sack of Wool, under the Name, and Pretence of Cuſtoms (*y*). The ſucceeding Events connected with the Ratification of this Charter are extremely intereſting, and place the tyrannical Diſpoſition of *Edward*, together with the laudable Anxiety of the *Engliſh*, for the Preſervation of their Liberties, in ſo ſtriking a Point of View, that We ſhould not reſt ſatisfied with barely recommending the Purſuit of this Subject (*z*) to the Reader, if a farther Inquiry were not foreign to the Nature of our Work.

As the following Circumſtance muſt have affected the Progreſs of Commerce, in that Æra, it may be neceſſary to relate it. In the Year one Thouſand, three Hundred, and three, the Exchequer is mentioned to have been robbed of the enormous Sum of one Hundred Thouſand Pounds. The Abbot, and Monks of *Weſtminſter* were charged with the Fact, tried, and acquitted. We are not informed that *Edward* was ever able to find out the Criminals. To ſuppoſe that *Freſcobald*, and his *Florentines* (of whom We have already treated,) were the guilty Perſons, becauſe they were in diſgrace with the King, immediately after the Tranſaction, is reaſoning on too ſlight a Ground (*a*).

(*y*) T. Walſingham, p. 74.—Walter Hemingford, V. 1. p. 143.—Knyghton.—Coke's ſecond Inſtitute, p. 532.

(*z*) See Hume's Hiſtory of England, Octavo, V. 2. p. 292, 293, 294, 295.

(*a*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 2. p. 930.

In the laſt Year of the Reign of *Edward*, the *Nuncio* having received in *England* large Sums of Money for the *Pope*, was not ſuffered to export it, in *Specie*, but obliged to reſign it for Bills of Exchange (*b*). An admired Hiſtorian (*c*) conſiders this Incident as "a Proof that Commerce was but ill underſtood, at that Time."

The Silver-Mines which had been wrought in the County of *Devon* produced from the twelfth of *Auguſt*, to the thirty-firſt of *October*, in the Year one Thouſand, two Hundred, and Ninety-four, three Hundred, and ſeventy Pounds Weight of Silver; in the next Year, five Hundred, twenty-one Pounds, and a Half; and in the following Year, ſeven Hundred, and four Pounds. They afterwards yielded more: How much is not mentioned; neither are We told at what Period they were worn out. The ſame Mines were once more opened, in the Reign of *Elizabeth*, and have been wrought ſince; yet not in ſuch a Manner as to anſwer the Coſt of Working (*d*).

Of the Courſe of Trade, it is obſerved (*e*) that ſome Judgment may be formed from an Inquiry concerning the Sums of Money which *Edward* borrowed, for the Purpoſe of proſecuting the War againſt the *Welch*. On this Occaſion, the City of *London* lent eight Thouſand, and the Port of *Yarmouth* one Thouſand Marks.

An Idea of the Wealth poſſeſſed by ſome particular Members of the State, may be gathered from the Account of Fines, impoſed by the King, on thoſe Judges who had been declared guilty of Corruption. Sir *Ralph de Hengham*, Chief Juſtice of the Higher Bench, was

(*b*) Ibid. V. 2. p. 1092.
(*c*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 2. p. 325.
(*d*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 241.
(*e*) Ibid.

was ſentenced to pay ſeven Thouſand Marks; Sir *John Lovetot*, Juſtice of the Lower Bench, three Thouſand Marks; Sir *William Bramton*, Juſtice, three Thouſand Marks; Sir *Solomon Rocheſter*, Juſtice of the Aſſizes, four Thouſand Marks; Sir *Richard de Boyland*, four Thouſand Marks; Sir *Thomas Seddington*, two Thouſand Marks; Sir *Walter Hopton*, two Thouſand Marks (*f*); Sir *William de Saham*, three Thouſand Marks; *Robert Littlebury*, Maſter of the Rolls, a Thouſand Marks; *Robert Leiceſter*, a Thouſand Marks; *Henry de Bray*, Eſcheator, and Judge for the *Jews*, a Thouſand Marks; *Adam de Stretton*, a Clerk of the Court, *thirty-two Thouſand Marks of new Money*, excluſive of Jewels, and Silver-Plate (*g*). By the Confiſcation of the Eſtates of theſe Offenders, *Edward* obtained above an Hundred Thouſand Marks.

About the twentieth Year of the Reign of this Prince, the Compaſs, an Inſtrument of the utmoſt Importance to the Purpoſes of Navigation, was diſcovered by *Flavio Gioia*, an Inhabitant of *Amalfi*, on the Coaſt of that Part of the Kingdom of *Naples* called *Terra di Lavoro*. More than a Century elapſed previous to the Acquiſition of any Advantages from this extraordinary Invention. How it was received, at what Period firſt uſed upon the Sea, and when divulged to other Nations, are Points as yet remaining in Obſcurity (*h*).

The Events during the diſgraceful Reign of *Edward* the Second are ſo ſlightly connected with the Subject of our Work, that We ſhall haſten, after a ſhort Detail, to an Æra wherein the Naval Reputation of the *Engliſh*

(*f*) Theſe laſt Four were Juſtices Itinerant.

(*g*) T. Walſingham.—Ann. Waverl.—V. Wikes.—Chron. de Dunſtable, MSS.

(*h*) Introduction to the Collection of Voyages, V. 6. Folio.—Lediard's Naval Hiſt. V. 1. Folio, p. 35.

liſh was carried to that illuſtrious Height, above which it hath ſo often riſen, and from whence it fell ſo ſeldom, in ſucceeding Times. The only Period, during the Life-time of this Prince, at which the Fleet is recorded to have been employed, was when *Iſabella* the Queen, together with her Son, were (on their Refuſal to return to *England.*) proclaimed Enemies to the State.

On this Occaſion, War was declared againſt *France* (*i*), and the Sheriffs of the ſeveral Counties, in Conſequence of Orders from their Sovereign, ſummoned *John L'Eſturmy* Admiral of the *North*, *Nicholas Kyriel*, Admiral of the *South* Seas, and *Ralph Baſſet*, of *Drayton*, Conſtable of *Dover* Caſtle, and Warden of the *Cinque Ports*, to obſtruct the Landing of all Invaders, and to attack, and either deſtroy, or take ſuch *French* Merchantmen as ſhould be found upon the Seas (*k*). To the Prudence, and Intrepidity of theſe Officers was owing the Capture of an Hundred Sail of *Norman* Ships, all of which were ſafely brought into the *Engliſh* Harbours (*l*).

Iſabella having concluded a Treaty with the Earl of *Hainault*, and betrothed to his Daughter *Philippa*, the young *Edward*, in Oppoſition to the expreſs Injunctions of the King, his Father (*m*), aſſembled the Forces which had been raiſed to attend her on the Enterprize, againſt *England*, and embarking at *Dort*, proceeded towards *Orewell*, in *Suffolk*, where She landed on the twenty ſecond of *September*, in the Year one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Twenty-ſix, and was

(*i*) A. D. 1326.

(*k*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 4. p. 189, 216, 218.

(*l*) Polydor. Virgil, Lib. 18.—Mezeray, V. 2. p. 843, 844.—Thom. Walſinghami. Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 507, 508.

(*m*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 4. p. 195.

was immediately joined by *Henry*, Earl of *Lancaſter*, and ſeveral of the Nobility (*n*). Her Army which, at firſt, conſiſted of two Thouſand, ſeven Hundred Men. (*o*), when reinforced by freſh Adherents, became a Terror to the Royal Party, and the unhappy *Edward* perceived himſelf intirely forſaken by his Subjects. He fled with Precipitation into *Wales*, from whence, as the leaſt Succour was refuſed him, the two *Spencers* propoſed that He ſhould depart for *Ireland* (*p*). Accordingly, He went on board a ſmall Veſſel, which after toſſing out at Sea, for ſome time, was driven, by contrary Winds, on the ſame Coaſt from which it had before ſailed. Here, He landed, and retiring for Shelter to the Abbey of *Neath*, in *Glamorganſhire*, endeavoured, but in vain, to conceal himſelf from his Purſuers. They, with the Earl of *Lancaſter* at their Head, ſeized, and carried him to *Monmouth*, where He was thrown into a loathſome Priſon (*q*), after having been obliged to deliver up the Great Seal. He alſo, without Reluctance, ſigned an Inſtrument which granted to the Queen, and his Son, the Power of uſing it as they pleaſed, even in Matters of mere Grace (*r*). This was the laſt Exertion of his Authority, and ſoon followed by his Commitment to the Caſtle of *Kenilworth*, where He, on Compulſion, reſigned his Crown, which, under the Authority of Parliament, was made over to *Edward* the Third (*s*), whoſe Reign, (howſoever glorious

(*n*) Holingſhed.
(*o*) Ibid.
(*p*) T. Walſinghami Ypodigma Neuſtriæ. p. 510.
(*q*) Ibid.
(*r*) Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. IV. p. 237.
(*s*) Polychronicon, L. 7. c. 43.—H. Knyghton, p. 2550.—Adam Murimuth, V. 2. p. 69.—Thom. Walſingham. Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 125, 127.—Thom. de la Mere, p. 600.

in other Reſpects,) was expoſed, at its Beginning, to an indelible Stain of Infamy, by the Murder of his Father.

The Enſigns of Royalty were taken from this miſerable Prince, on the twenty-ſecond of *January*, in the Year one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Twenty-ſeven. The Remainder of his Life was a dreadful Series of Cruelty, and Inſult. When the People, together with his Keeper, the Earl of *Lancaſter*, were obſerved by the Queen, and *Mortimer*, to ſpeak, with Compaſſion, of his Situation, they ſuſpected a Deſign to reſtore him to the Throne, and the more effectually to prevent it, delivered him over to the Lord *Berkeley*, Sir *John Maltravers*, and Sir *Thomas Gurney*. The Firſt, pitying his Misfortunes, would have treated him with Tenderneſs, and Reſpect; But the Others, mercileſs to an Extreme, tormented him by every Species of Indignity which they judged likely to accelerate his End. From *Kenilworth*, He was removed to *Corfe*, and afterwards to *Briſtol*. Here, it was diſcovered that Some of the Citizens had formed a Reſolution to aſſiſt him in making his Eſcape, beyond the Seas, and He was inſtantly conducted to *Berkley* Caſtle. On his Journey thither, which they forced him to perform in the Night, the cold and muddy Water was taken from an adjoining Ditch, for the Purpoſe of ſhaving him. No longer able to repreſs the Violence of his Grief, He burſt into a Flood of Tears, and, as they bedewed his Cheeks, exclaimed that, in Spite of their Barbarity, He *would* be ſhaved with clean, and warm Water. Frequent Attempts were alſo made to poiſon him, but theſe were rendered ineffectual by the Vigour of his Conſtitution. The *Ruffians* vexed at the ill Succeſs of their Enterprizes, wrote to their unnatural Employers for freſh Inſtructions, and received an Order to diſpatch

him,

him, at any Rate: In the Letter which incloſed it, *Adam de Orleton*, Biſhop of *Hereford*, and the flagitious Miniſter of *Iſabella*, put a *Latin* Line, wherein, by a contemptible Equivocation, they found themſelves encouraged (according to the different Mode of Reading it,) either to commit the Murder, or to refrain from it; yet it is more than probable that they were directed, and inclined to accept of the Expreſſions in the laſt Senſe (*t*), and that their Conduct was far from being the Reſult of Ignorance: At this Time, the Lord *Berkley*, in whoſe Caſtle *Edward* remained a Priſoner, was prevented by Illneſs, from attending to his Charge (*u*). *Gurney*, and *Maltravers*, embraced the Opportunity to execute their horrid Purpoſe. They ruſhed into a Chamber, where they found the depoſed King, in Bed, and, preſſing him violently down to it with a Table, to hinder him from ſtruggling, placed within his Fundament a Horn-Pipe, through which they conveyed a burning Iron (*x*). This execrable Crime was immediately diſcovered to the Inhabitants of the Caſtle, by the loud Shrieks of the tortured *Edward*, whilſt his Bowels were conſuming. His Body was ſhortly afterwards buried, without any funeral Pomp, at *Glouceſter* (*y*).

Thus periſhed this unhappy Prince, more a Martyr to Indolence, Irreſolution, and a Want of Judgment, than to Vices. The Diſtractions of his Life prevented him

(*t*) "Edvardum occidere Nolite timere: Bonum eſt.
"Edvardum occidere Nolite: Timere bonum eſt."

(*u*) Cotton's Abridgment, p. 8.

(*x*) September 21, A. D. 1327.

(*y*) Anonymi Hiſt. p. 838.—Adam Murimuth, V. 2. p. 70.—Thom. de la More Vit. Ed. 2. p 602, 603.—Thom. Walſinghami. Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 509.—Chron. Godſtovian, p. 109.—H. Knyghton, p. 2551.—Grafton's Chronicle, p. 218, 219.

him from either ſupporting the Marine, or advancing the Commerce of the Nation. That He was inclined to extend his Protection to the laſt, appears from his Charter granted for the Encouragement of the Manufacture of Wool, the ſtaple Commodity of the Kingdom. But the Vigour of Trade was conſiderably impaired by the Famine which raged ſo violently during ſeveral Years of this Reign. The Coldneſs of the Weather, and the inceſſant Showers by deſtroying the Harveſts, and cauſing a Mortality amongſt the Cattle, had raiſed the Neceſſaries of Life to an enormous Price. At this Æra (*z*), the Parliament ſtrove to lower it, "not ſenſible (obſerves a diſcerning Writer (*a*), that ſuch an Attempt was impracticable, and that were it poſſible to reduce the Price of Proviſions by any other Expedient than by introducing Plenty, nothing could be more pernicious, and deſtructive to the Public. Where the Produce of a Year, for Inſtance, falls ſo far ſhort as to afford full Subſiſtence only for nine Months, the only Expedient for making it laſt all the Twelve, is to raiſe the Prices, to put the People by that Means on ſhort Allowance, and oblige them to ſave their Food, till a more plentiful Year. But, in Reality, the Increaſe of Prices is a neceſſary Conſequence of Scarcity; and Laws, inſtead of preventing it, only aggravate the Evil, by cramping, and reſtraining Commerce. The Parliament, accordingly, in the enſuing Year, repealed their Ordinance, which they had found uſeleſs, and burdenſome (*b*).

The intelligent Reader who can gather from theſe Particulars ſome Idea of the Commerce, under the Reign of *Edward*, the Second, may think it neceſſary to

(*z*) A. D. 1315.
(*a*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, Octavo, V. 2. p. 364.
(*b*) Thom. Walſinghami. Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 107.

to be informed of the Prices affixed to various Articles, by the Parliament. The beſt ſtalled Ox was rated at three Pounds, and twelve Shillings, of our preſent Money; Other Oxen, at two Pounds, and eight Shillings; a fat Hog of two Years old, at ten Shillings; a fat Wether unſhorn, at a Crown; if ſhorn, at three Shillings, and Six-Pence; a fat Gooſe, at Seven-Pence Half-Penny; a fat Capon, at Six-Pence; a fat Hen, at Three-Pence; Two Chickens at Three-Pence; Four Pigeons at Three-Pence; and two Dozen of Eggs at Three-Pence (*c*). The Writer (*d*) of whoſe clear Inveſtigation of theſe Subjects, I have more than once availed myſelf, obſerves that "if We conſider the foregoing Prices, We ſhall find that Butchers Meat, in this Time of great Scarcity, muſt ſtill have been ſold by the Parliamentary Ordinance, three Times cheaper than our middling Prices at Preſent. Poultry ſomewhat lower, becauſe being now conſidered as a Delicacy, it has riſen beyond its Proportion. In the Country-Places of *Ireland*, and *Scotland*, where Delicacies bear no Price, Poultry is at Preſent as cheap, if not cheaper than Butchers Meat. But the Inference which He would draw from the Compariſon of Prices is ſtill more conſiderable: He ſuppoſes that the Rates affixed by Parliament, were inferior to the uſual Market-Prices in thoſe Years of Famine, and Mortality of Cattle; and that theſe Commodities, inſtead of a Third, had really riſen to Half of the preſent Value. But the Famine, at that Time, was ſo conſuming (*e*) that Wheat was

(*c*) Rot. Parl. 7. Edw. 2. n. 35, 36.---T. Walſinghami. Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 502.

(*d*) Mr. Hume.

(*e*) Of the Conſequences of this Dearth, the Reader will find a particular Relation in the Hiſtory of England, by *Rapin**. One would hope that ſo terrible a Picture of Calamity exceeds Belief. Vol. III. 8vo. p. 349.

was ſometimes ſold for above four Pounds, and ten Shillings, a Quarter (*f*); uſually for three Pounds; (*g*) that is twice our middling Prices (*h*). A certain Proof of the wretched State of Tillage in thoſe Ages. We formerly found (adds the ſame enlightened Author,) that the middling Price of Corn in that Period was half of the preſent Price; while the middling Price of Cattle was only an eighth Part: We here find the ſame immenſe Diſproportion in Years of Scarcity. It may thence be inferred with Certainty, that the Raiſing of Corn was a Species of Manufactory which Few in that Age could practiſe with Advantage: And there is Reaſon to think that other Manufactures more refined were ſold even beyond their preſent Prices: At leaſt there is a Demonſtration for it in the Reign of *Henry* the Seventh, from the Rates affixed to Scarlet, and other Broad-Cloth, by Act of Parliament. During all thoſe Times, it was uſual for the Princes, and Great Nobility to make Settlements of their velvet Beds, and ſilken Robes, in the ſame Manner as of their Eſtates, and Manors (*i*). In the Liſt of Jewels, and Plate, which had belonged to the oſtentatious *Gaveſton*, and which the King recovered from the Earl of *Lancaſter*, after the Murder of that Favourite, We find ſome embroidered Girdles, flowered Shirts, and ſilk Waiſtcoats (*k*). It was afterwards one Article of Accuſation againſt that opu-

(*f*) Adam Murimuth, p. 48.—Walſingham (p. 108.) obſerves that it roſe to ſix Pounds.

(*g*) T. Walſinghami. Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 502.---Nic. Trivet. Annal. Cont. p. 18.

(*h*) At this melancholy Period the Brewing of Beer was wiſely Prohibited by the Legiſlature, on Pain of Death, that the Corn, uſually expended that Way, might ſerve to make Bread.

(*i*) Dugdale, *paſſim*.

(*k*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 3. p. 388.

opulent, and potent Earl, when tried for his Life, that He had purloined ſome of that Finery from *Gaveſton*. The Ignorance of thoſe Ages in Manufactures, and eſpecially in Tillage, ſeems a clear Proof that they were far from being populous."

"All Trade, and Manufactures were then at a very low Ebb. The only Country in the Northern Parts of *Europe*, where they ſeem to have riſen to any tolerable Degree of Improvement, was *Flanders*. When *Robert*, Earl of that Country, was applied to by *Edward*, and was deſired to break off Commerce with the *Scots*, whom *Edward* called his Rebels, and repreſented as excommunicated on that Account, by the Church; the Earl replied that *Flanders* was always conſidered as common, and free, and open to all Nations (*l*)".

Another Obſtacle to the Progreſs of Commerce was the Frequency of Robberies committed, in all Places, by the former Retainers of the Nobility, diſmiſſed during the Severity of the Famine. They aſſembled in armed Troops, and over-ran the Kingdom (*m*). Even two Cardinals, Legates from the Pope, were, in ſpite of the Number of their Attendants, ſtopped on the Road, and plundered of their Money, Goods, and Equipage (*n*).

Of the Wealth, and alſo of the Hoſpitality of the Nobles, at this Æra, We may form ſome Judgement from a Circumſtance mentioned by *Stowe*, in his Survey of *London*, and gathered from the Accompts of the Cofferer, or Steward to *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter*. It appears that the Expences of that Lord during the Year one

(*l*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 3. p. 770.—Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 2. 8vo. p. 367.

(*m*) Ypod. Neuſt. p. 502.—Walſing. p. 107.

(*n*) Nic. Trivet. Annal. Cont. p. 22.—Adam Murimuth. p. 51.—Thom. de la More Vit. Ed. 2. p. 594.—Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 503.

one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Thirteen, were, for the Pantry, Buttery, and Kitchen, three Thouſand, four Hundred, and five Pounds. For three Hundred, and Sixty-nine Pipes of red, and two of white Wine, one Hundred, and Four Pounds, &c. The Whole was ſeven Thouſand, three Hundred, and Nine Pounds; which are nearly twenty-two Thouſand Pounds of our preſent Money; and allowing for the Cheapneſs of Commodities, near an Hundred Thouſand Pounds.

Whether *Edward* the Second coined any Money, is uncertain: Relatively to this Matter, our Laws, and Hiſtories are ſilent (*o*). No Concluſions reſpecting the Riches of the State can be drawn from the Allowance of one Hundred Marks a Month, (or eight Hundred Pounds, a Year,) granted to the depoſed King, in Priſon (*p*). If the Authority of the Writer who records the Fact were not unqueſtionable, it might have been imagined that the mercileſs *Iſabella* had deprived her Huſband of all Maintenance whatſoever. Yet, in Compariſon, how ſhort doth this fall of the Eſtate amounting to five Hundred Pounds a Year, and tenderly given by *Edward*, for the ſake of his *Queen*, to the Lady *Theophania*, (a Native of *France*) who had been *her* Nurſe (*q*).

We ſhall paſs over the Occurrences which immediately ſucceeded the Acceſſion of *Edward* the Third to the Crown of which his Father had been deprived, and enter upon a Relation leſs foreign to the Subject of our Work. In the Year one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Thirty-ſix, the King having reſolved to turn his Arms againſt *France*, formed the neceſſary Alliances with the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*; the Duke of *Brabant*;

(*o*) Biſhop Nicholſon's Hiſtorical Library, folio, p. 255.
(*p*) T. Walſingham.
(*q*) Rymer's Fœdera.

Brabant; the Earls of *Guelders* and *Hainault*, his Brothers-in-Law; the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*; ſeveral Lords of *Flanders*, *Holland*, and *Gaſcony*; together with *James D'Arteville*, a Brewer of *Ghent* (*r*). So powerful was the Influence of this Man, that the *Flemings* (at whoſe Requeſt He had aſſumed the Authority, after the Expulſion of their Sovereign,) ſubmitted, on all Occaſions, to his Commands, regardleſs of the Spirit of Barbarity, and Violence, in which they frequently were conceived. Whenſoever He walked the Streets, He was accompanied by a numerous Retinue, who, on a Signal given, immediately aſſaſſinated the Objects of his Vengeance; Magiſtrates were either removed, or appointed according to his Pleaſure; Of the Revenues belonging to the baniſhed Earl, He diſpoſed in the moſt arbitrary Manner; Every City in *Flanders* was crouded with his Spies; and the Perſons informed againſt by Theſe were either driven into Exile, or put to Death. The Nobility were under Apprehenſions of falling a Sacrifice to his Oppreſſions, and foreſaw their own Fate in that of Others who loſt their Lives, and Fortunes for having diſobliged him; The laſt, excluſive of a ſmall Allowance given to the Wives, and Children of the Sufferers, were converted to his own Uſe (*s*) Such (to borrow the Language of an admired Writer,) (t) were the firſt Effects which *Europe* ſaw of Popular Violence, after having groaned, during ſo many Ages, under Monarchical, and Ariſtocratical Tyranny.

To this ſeditious Individual *Edward*, with an Aſſiduity, and Reſpect, not extended to the Reſt of the Allies, applied for the Aſſiſtance of the *Flemings*. A Requeſt made by the King of *England* was too flattering to

(*r*)—Ibid.—Froiſſart Chron. L. 1. c. 35.
(*s*) Ibid. Liv. 1. chap. 30.
(*t*) Mr. Hume.

to be refuſed; and *D'Arteville* at once eſpouſed the Cauſe of *Edward*, and preſſed him to paſs over into the *Low-Countries*. In Conſequence of the Invitation, a Parliament was immediately ſummoned, in which the Sovereign affected to aſk their Permiſſion to proſecute this intended Enterprize, and eaſily obtained it (*u*). At the ſame Time, He procured from them a Grant of twenty Thouſand Sacks of Wool (*x*), a Commodity acceptable to the *Flemings*, and with the Price of which He hoped to ſatisfy the Demands of the *German* Powers, in his Intereſt. The other neceſſary Supplies were obtained by Loans, by the Pawning of the Crown Jewels, and by tyrannically plundering all the *Lombards*, who exerciſing the Trade before monopolized by the *Jews*, lent out Money at an uſurious Intereſt (*y*).

The King, previous to his Departure from *England*, ſent a powerful Force abroad, under the Command of the Earl of *Derby* (*z*), who ſubdued the Iſle of *Cadſant*. In Conſequence of this Succeſs, the Chief Cities in *Flanders* declared for *Edward*, whoſe Preſence they eagerly ſolicited (*a*). At Sea, the firſt Act of Hoſtility is recorded to have been committed by the *French*, who under Pretence of ſending Succours to the Chriſtians at War in the *Holy Land*, equipped a formidable Fleet, and ſailing for *England*, ſhortly afterwards diſembarked at *Southampton*, which they took, and reduced to Aſhes: In

(*u*) Cotton's Abridgment.

(*x*) Nearly equal to an Hundred Thouſand Pounds.

(*y*) Dugdale's Baronage, V. 2. p. 146.

(*z*) He was deſcended from *Henry* the Third, King of *England*. His Father and Uncle, were Earls of *Lancaſter*. The laſt was beheaded in the Reign of *Edward* the Second. —Leland's Coll. V. 1. p. 608.

(*a*) Froiſſart, chap. 30.—T. Walſingham. Hiſt. Angl. p. 136.—H. Knyghton, p. 2570.—Paul Emyle, p. 512, 513.

In their Retreat they were leſs fortunate, three Hundred of their Men, together with their Commander, the Son of the King of *Sicily*, being ſlain upon the Spot (*b*).

On the fifteenth of July, in the Year one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Thirty-eight; the King, at the Head of a numerous Army, proceeded to *Orwell*, in *Suffolk*, from whence they embarked on board a Fleet of Five Hundred Sail, and the Week following, arrived at *Antwerp*. Here, as the Allies were not prepared to ſecond his Attempts, He remained inactive until the month of September in the following Year, when he marched, with his Forces, towards *Cambray*, the Biſhop, and Lord of which, under the Protection of the Emperor, prepared with his Garriſon, conſiſting chiefly of *French* Troops, to oppoſe his Entrance. Having halted, for ſome Time, before the Walls of this City, He received Advice that *Philip de Valois* was advancing to give him Battle, and directly croſſed the *Schelde* to meet him (*c*). The two Armies continued encamped near to each other, during a whole Week. Mutual Defiances were given, and a Day fixed on for the Engagement. At length, they drew up in Order of Battle, made their Obſervations, and retreated. From hence, *Edward* turned back into *Cambray*, and the *Vermandois*, ſome Villages of which were plundered by his Troops, and afterwards razed to the Ground.

In the mean Time, the *French*, together with their Allies the *Scots*, appeared with a ſtrong Squadron off the Coaſt of *England*. Diſembarking at *Haſtings*, they burned the Houſes of the Fiſhermen, and ſlew the Inhabitants

(*b*) T. Walſinghami. Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 512.—Fabian's Chronicle, p. 206.—Dupleix, Hiſtoire de France, Tom. II. p. 451.—Le Gendre, Hiſtoire de France, Tom. III. p. 449.

(*c*) Froiſſart.—T. Walſingham.

bitants (*d*). Near to the Harbours of *Devonſhire*, and *Cornwall*, they took, and deſtroyed ſeveral Veſſels, the Mariners of which were put to the Sword. They next infeſted the Port of *Briſtol*; and ſailing from thence to *Plymouth*, reduced the greater Part of that Town to Aſhes (*e*). Here, they were at length repulſed, with the Loſs of five Hundred Men, by a Body of Troops, under the Command of the Earl of *Devonſhire*, and ſeveral Knights of that County.

Sonn afterwards, an Engagement enſued between five *Engliſh*, and thirteen *French* Ships, the former of which made a gallant Defence, during nine Hours. Two of the largeſt Ships, the *Edward* and the *Chriſtopher* were taken by the Enemy: The other Three, which were ſmall Veſſels, eſcaped by the Swiftneſs of their Sailing. The Numbers killed on both Sides amounted to nearly ſix Hundred Men *(f)*.

Towards the Cloſe of this Year, the Mariners belonging to the *Cinque Ports* fitted out their ſmall Craft, and paſſed over to *Boulogne*, where, availing themſelves of a thick Fog, they landed, attacked the Lower Town, and burned four large Ships, nineteen Gallies, and twenty Tranſports, then lying in the Harbour. They alſo demoliſhed all the Buildings adjoining to the Shore; and amongſt theſe, the Arſenal, in which they found Oars, Sails, Armour, and Croſs-Bows ſufficient for the Equipment of nineteen Gallies, and their Companies (*g*).

In

(*d*) Robert de Aveſbury, p. 51.—Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 356.—Gio. Villani. L. 11. c. 108.—Paul Emyle, p. 516.—Chronique Abregè du Tillet, p. 104.

(*e*) A. D. 1339.

(*f*) H. Knyghton, p. 2573.—Fabian's Chronicle, p. 206.—Stowe's Chronicle, p. 235 —Froiſſart, c. 37. folio 21, 23.

(*g*) Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 357.

In the Month of *February* of the Year one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Forty, *Edward* returned to *England*, where He aſſembled the Parliament, from whom, (in Conſideration of his having confirmed the Great Charter, aſſented to ſalutary Laws, and beſtowed many valuable Privileges on the Merchants,) He received the neceſſary Supplies for the Expences of the War (*h*). The *French* were equally active in their Preparations: They collected together a powerful Squadron, and making Deſcents upon the Coaſts, near *Portſmouth*, and the Iſland of *Guernſey*, reduced moſt of the Towns, and Villages to Aſhes (*i*).

We, now, come to one of the moſt important, and glorious Events, in the Naval Hiſtory of theſe Times. After having informed the Reader that *Edward* equipped a Fleet conſiſting of two Hundred, and Sixty Sail of Ships of War, with which He proceeded (*k*) from the *Downs*, on his Voyage to *Flanders*, it may be proper to relate the Victory that followed, in the words of a contemporary Hiſtorian (*l*), who confirms his Teſtimony by an Appeal to the Account publiſhed, in Obedience to the Commands of *Edward*, on the fourth Day from this remarkable Engagement.

" It happened that on the *Saturday* fortnight before " the Feaſt of Saint *John* the *Baptiſt*, the King was " at *Orewell*, where there were forty Ships, or there- " abouts, preparing for his Paſſage into *Flanders*, " where He was going to his Wife, and Children, " whom He had left in the City of *Ghent*, as well as to

(*h*) Brady's Appendix, Number 86.---Walter Hemingford, V. 2. p. 318, 319.---Thom. Walſingham, p. 147.---Cotton's Abridgment of the Records, p. 22.---H. Knyghton, p. 2576.

(*i*) P. Daniel.---Froiſſart.

(*k*) June 22, A. D. 1340.

(*l*) Robert of Aveſbury, p. 56.

" confer with his Allies about the Meaſures neceſſary to " be taken for carrying on the War, intending to ſail " in two Days Time: But the Archbiſhop of *Canter-* " *bury* ſent to give him Intelligence that *Philip de Valois*, " his Competitor for the Crown of *France*, having had " Notice of his intended Paſſage, with much Diligence, " and as much Privacy as the Nature of the Thing " would admit, had aſſembled a great Fleet, which lay " in the Port of *Sluys*, in Order to intercept him: " Wherefore He adviſed his Majeſty to provide him- " ſelf with a better Squadron, leſt He, and thoſe who " were with him ſhould periſh."

" The King yielding no Belief to his Advice, an- " ſwered that He was reſolved to ſail at all Events. " The Archbiſhop quitted, upon this, his Seat in " Council, obtaining the King's Leave to retire, and " delivered up to him the Great Seal. His Majeſty " ſent, therefore, for Sir *Robert de Morley* his Admiral, " and one *Crabbe*, a ſkilful Seaman, and gave them " Orders to inquire into the Truth of this Matter: " They quickly returned, and brought him the ſame " News He had heared from the Archbiſhop: Upon " which, the King ſaid: " Ye have agreed with that " Prelate to tell me this Tale, in order to ſtop my " Voyage; But," (added He, angrily,) " I will go " without You; And You, who are afraid, where " there is no Ground of Fear, may ſtay here at Home." The Admiral, and the Seamen replied that they " would " ſtake their Heads that if the King perſiſted in this " Reſolution, He, and all who went with him would " certainly be deſtroyed: However, they were ready " to attend him, even to certain Death. The King, " having heard them, ſent for the Archbiſhop of *Can-* " *terbury* back, and with Abundance of kind Speeches, " prevailed upon him to receive the Great Seal again

" into

" into his Care: After this, the King iſſued his Orders " to all the Ports, both in the *North*, and *South*, and " to the *Londoners* likewiſe to ſend him Aid; ſo that " in the Space of ten Days, He had a Navy as large " as He deſired, and ſuch unexpected Reinforcements " of Archers, and Men at Arms, that He was forced " to ſend many of them Home, and with this Equipage " He arrived at the Haven of *Sluys* on the Feaſt of " Saint *John*, the *Baptiſt*."

" The *Engliſh* perceiving, on their Approach, that " the *French* Ships were linked together with Chains, " and that it was impoſſible for them to break their " Line of Battle, retired a little, and ſtood back to " Sea. The *French* deceived by this Feint, broke their " Order, and purſued the *Engliſh* who, they thought, " fled before them: But theſe, having gained the " Sun, and Wind, tacked, and fell upon them with " ſuch Fury, that they quickly broke, and totally de- " feated them, ſo that upwards of thirty Thouſand " *French* were ſlain, of whom Numbers through Fear " jumped, of their own Accord, into the Sea, and " were miſerably drowned. Two Hundred great Ships " were taken, in one of which, only, there were four " Hundred dead Bodies. The Day after this Victory " was gained, it was publiſhed by the Voice of the " People, which is ſaid to be the Voice of GOD: But " although the Rumour thereof, through the Diſtance " of Places, was uncertain, yet on the *Wedneſday* fol- " lowing the King's eldeſt Son had perfect Intelligence " thereof, at *Waltham*, as appears by the authentic " Account (*m*)."

To preſerve even the ſlighteſt Particulars of ſo memorable a Naval Event, we ſhall ſubjoin the Relation writ-

(*m*) The Narrative publiſhed by Authority.

written by *Froiſſart*, and rendered into *Engliſh* by *John Bourchier*, Baron *Berners* (*n*).

" The King of *France*, with more than two Hundred, and Forty great Ships, beſides Multitudes of ſmaller Craft, and with at leaſt Forty Thouſand fighting Men, *Normans*, *Picardians*, *Bretons*, and *Genoeſe*, lay at Anchor near *Le Sluſe*, waiting for the *Engliſh* Fleet, which was to paſs that Way. The King of *England*, whoſe Fleet conſiſted of two Hundred Ships, well armed, being come up with them, cauſed all his Veſſels to be put in proper Order, placing his largeſt, and ſtrongeſt Ships in the Front, with Archers in all Parts of the Fleet, that is, between every two ſmaller Ships of Archers was placed a large Ship of cloſe-armed Men, and then He arranged another Battle of Archers intirely on the Side, to ſuccour occaſionally ſuch as ſhould ſtand in Need of their Aſſiſtance."

" The Fleet thus ranged in Order, they drew all their Sails the contrary Way, and came on a ſide Wind that they might have the Advantage of the Sun which before ſhone full in their Faces. When the haughty *Normans* ſaw them turning about, they vainly imagined they were preparing for Flight, and ſaid tauntingly, *Ah, ha, Theſe are not Warriors bold enough to encounter with us!* But the *Engliſh* ſoon to their Coſt, convinced them how much they dared to do; for having turned about to the other Side they bore down full upon them. This when the *Normans* ſaw, and found by the royal Banner that the King of *England* was there in Perſon, they ſet their Ships in Order, for they were hardy Men, and uſed to War. They placed a great Ship called the *Chriſtopher* (that the foregoing Year had been taken from the *Engliſh*,) full in the Front, which with great Shout-

(*n*) Walpole's Royal, and Noble Authors, Vol. I.

Shoutings, and the Noiſe of Pipes, Trumpets, and various other warlike Inſtruments, came forward towards the *Engliſh*, and then began the Battle, fiercely, and terrible. From all Sides flew the Death dealing Weapons from the long Bows of the *Engliſh*, the Croſs-bows of the Enemies, and the Javelins darted by the Hands of the furious Warriors; But ſtill coming cloſer, and cloſer the Men of Arms began the cruel Combat, Hand to Hand, the which the better to effect, they had on either Side large iron Cramps faſtened with ſtrong Chains. Theſe were thrown over the Sides of the Veſſels, which were drawn by them cloſe up, Side to Side: the Carnage then was horrible, and cruel, for Death, and Deſtruction raged on every ſide."

"Here was retaken the *Chriſtopher*, that great and noble Veſſel, and all ſlain who guarded her. With a great Cry, and dreadful Noiſe, the *Engliſhmen* approached in the moſt hardy Manner; and having filled this Veſſel with Archers of their own, they bore down with her to encounter the *Genoeſe*: ſo that in the End the whole Fleet of the *Frenchmen* was overthrown, and full two Hundred Veſſels were taken, and thirty Thouſand of their Soldiers ſlain. The *Engliſh* Annals boaſt not of a Victory more worthy note than this."

The other Particulars relating to this Engagement are that *Edward* ſent the Lord *Cobham*, and Others, to view the *French* Fleet. On their Return, they declared it to be numerous, and powerful; at which the King, more overjoyed than ſurprized, exclaimed "*For this* "*Opportunity, have I long waited: By the Help of* GOD "*and* SAINT GEORGE, *I will now engage them, and* "*revenge my Wrongs* (o)." The Line of Battle was formed according to his own Directions. The Largeſt,

(o) Froiſſart, Chap. 50.——Fabian, p. 210, 211.

and Strongeſt Ships were ſtationed in the Front; Thoſe at each End of the Line were filled with Archers, the intermediate Ships of every Three excepted; Theſe were crouded with the Men at Arms. Another Line of Ships was alſo formed on the Side, as a Body of Reſerve. On board of Theſe, alſo, were Archers, ready to be drafted off to other Ships, as Occaſion might require (*p*).

The Engagement (in which the *Great Chriſtopher* (*q*) was retaken by the *Engliſh*,) laſted, without Intermiſſion, from Eight in the Morning, until Seven at Night. When it became quite dark, Thirty *French* Ships, which lay by during the Action, endeavoured to eſcape. They were immediately attacked by the Diviſion of the *Engliſh* Fleet, under the Command of the Earl of *Huntingdon*. The *Jaques* of *Dieppe*, a Ship of great Force, was taken, after an Engagement of ſeveral Hours. Many of the other Veſſels were either ſunk, or deſtroyed.

The Superior Dexterity of the *Engliſh* in the Management of their Ships ſeems to have accelerated their Victory over the *French*, who were, as yet, but ſlightly verſed in any of the Naval Arts. The Battle was, notwithſtanding, extremely fatal to both Parties. A large Veſſel, together with a Galley fitted out from the Port of *Hull*, were ſunk by a Volley of Stones, and the whole Crew periſhed; So terrible alſo was the Slaughter on board the Ship which carried the Wardrobe belonging to *Edward*, that only two Men, and a Woman eſcaped it. The Loſs on the Side of the *Engliſh* amounted to about four Thouſand. Amongſt Theſe were Sir *Thomas Monthermer*, Sir *Thomas Latimer*, Sir *John Boteler*,

(*p*) Froiſſart, Chap. 50.—Fabian, p. 210, 211.
(*q*) See Page 208.

Boteler, and Sir *Thomas Poinings* (*r*). To render his Victory indiſputable, the King remained three Days at Sea, with his whole Fleet, and afterwards, diſembarking with the Forces, proceeded to *Ghent*, where He joined the Confederates (*s*).

In this Engagement, the *French* loſt two Admirals, twenty Thouſand Men, and nearly their whole Fleet (*t*). *Edward* is mentioned to have been wounded in the Thigh (*u*). "It appeared," (obſerves a Foreign Writer) (*x*) "as if this Prince had paſſed his whole Life in the Sea-Service. The moſt experienced Naval Officers were ſtricken with Admiration at the Dexterity which He diſcovered in gaining the Wind of the Enemy." But, We muſt allow (with an Hiſtorian of ſuperior Penetration) (*y*), that the true Cauſe of the Victory acquired by the *Engliſh* reſulted from their having a National Marine, commanded by their King; Whereas the Crews of thoſe Foreign Ships of which the *French* Fleet was principally compoſed, felt a Reluctance in obeying the Orders of their Admirals who were at Variance with each Other. Theſe were *Barbevere*; *Kyriel*, *Kervel*, or *Quieret*; and *Behuchet*. *Barbevere* was the Admiral of the *Genoeſe*, who were the ableſt Mariners in the Fleet, and, perhaps, at that Time, the only good Marin-

(*r*) Walter Hemingford, V. 2. p. 319, 321.—Froiſſart, Chap. 50. f. 30.—T. Walſingham, p. 148.—H. Knyghton, p. 2578.—Du Cheſne, L. 15. p. 651.—Grafton, p. 242, 243.

(*s*) Chron. Godſtovian, p. 112.—Cont. Nic. Trivet. et Adam Murimuth. Annal. V. 2. p. 96.—T. Otterbourne, p. 129.

(*t*) Hiſtoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edouard 3, par M. Gaillard, T. 1. p. 251.

(*u*) Hiſtoire de France, Tom. I. p. 491.

(*x*) P. D'Orleans. Revolut. d'Angleterre.

(*y*) Hiſtoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edouard 3, par M. Gaillard, T. 1. p. 251.

Mariners. *Kyriel*, and *Behuchet* commanded the *Norman*, and *Picardian* Sailors who, at leaſt, diſcovered much Zeal for the Service. *Kyriel* was deſirous of ſtanding out to Sea, in order to engage the *Engliſh*; but *Behuchet* propoſed remaining within the Harbour, to be in Readineſs to defend it; and perſiſting in this Opinion, detained the Ships ſo long that in the End they were blocked up. The *Genoeſe* Admiral ſailed towards the *Engliſh*, in the Moment that they approached, diſcovered great Intrepidity, and Conduct, during the whole Engagement, and, whilſt a Part of his Squadron was taken by the Enemy, contrived to carry off the Reſt. *Kyriel* was ſlain during the Action; and *Behuchet* hanged at the Yard-Arm of his own Ship (z). The Cardinal *d'Oſſat* expreſſes his Aſtoniſhment that the Ancient Sovereigns of *France* were ſo inattentive to their Marine, notwithſtanding that they poſſeſſed a rich, and powerful Kingdom, flanked as it were by two Seas, from End, to End. The Reaſon is that all this Kingdom did not abſolutely belong to them; and that the Majority of the principal Maritime Provinces were holden by the great Vaſſals of the Crown (*a*).

The Defeat of the *French* Navy was concealed, during ſeveral Days, from *Philip*. No Courtier durſt venture to inform him of ſo diſagreeable a Truth. At length, the Jeſter, or Fool, belonging to the Palace, unravelled all.

(z) Mr. *Campbell* *, who appears to have followed *Le Gendre* †, obſerves that He was hanged for his ill Conduct. This infers that He was executed in Conſequence of an Order from the *French* King. Mr. *Gaillard* ‡, is of Opinion that He fell a Sacrifice to the Reſentment of the *Engliſh*. "Behuchet, *ayant été pris*, fut pendu au Mât de ſon Vaiſſeau. Grande Horreur tres commune a la Guerre." I am at a Loſs to determine which Author is in the Right.

* Vol. I. p. 198. † T. III. p. 455. ‡ T. I. p. 252.

(*a*) Hiſtoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edouard 3. par M. Gaillard, T. 1. p. 252.

all. In a pretended Rage, He reproached the *Engliſh* with the moſt abandoned Cowardice. When the King required a Proof of it, He anſwered: "*Theſe Daſtards* "*wanted the Spirit to quit their Veſſels, and jump, like* "*the brave French, and Normans, at once, into the* "*Ocean (b).*"

Concerning this Sea-Fight, a *French* Hiſtorian obſerves (*c*), "Firſt, that no Mention is made (in our Accounts of it,) either of the *Roſtrum*, (which was, in more Ancient Times, the principal offenſive Weapon of the Ship,) or of Gallies (*d*), or of Rowers. With Reſpect to the Mode of working Ships, by which the Commanders of one Veſſel attempted to break the Oars of Another, the Writers of the Naval Events of this Reign are equally ſilent. By the *Latins*, the Practice was called *Remos detergere*. The Ship was brought as near as poſſible to that of the Enemy, in a parallel Line; and then, at a Signal made, driven violently on, and (whilſt the Oars were either lifted up, or ſuddenly withdrawn,) daſhed full againſt it, in Conſequence of which the Oars of the Veſſel belonging to the Enemy were broken: After this, the Ship which had given the firſt Aſſault, tacked about, and either gored the Other, with its *Roſtrum*, or proceeded to Grappling."

"Hence it follows that, on this Occaſion, the *Engliſh* and *French* had not only relinquiſhed the Cuſtom of the *Romans* who, in their Naval Engagements, always had recourſe to Oars, but thrown aſide the beaked Veſſels,

(*b*) Vecordes Anglicos.—Quia in Mare ſaltare non ſunt auſi, ut fecerunt noſtri Normanni, et Gallici generoſi.—Walſingham, p. 148.

(*c*) P. Daniel. Hiſt. de la Milice Franc. Tom. II. p. 468.

(*d*) This appears to be a Miſtake, *Gallies* are mentioned, p. 214.

Veſſels, or *Naves Roſtratæ*, which were in Uſe during the Reign of *Philip Auguſtus*, towards the Concluſion of the twelfth, and the Beginning of the Thirteenth Century. Neither this *Roſtrum*, nor the *Eperon*, or *Beak-Head* which afterwards ſupplied the Place of it, could be managed but by means of Oars (*e*)."

At this Æra, the *French* Fleets were (like the Navy of *England*,) compoſed of all Kinds of Ships, procured from the ſeveral Ports of the Kingdom; and amongſt Theſe were Gallies, the Number of which was, however, not equal to that maintained at a former Period. At the Battle of *Guernſey*, which was fought ſoon afterwards, the *French* Fleet, commanded by *Lewis* of *Spain*, conſiſted of Two and Thirty Sail; Nine of which were longer than the Reſt, and three of theſe, Gallies. The others were high-decked Veſſels, which, in an Engagement, made more Uſe of their Sails than of their Oars."

"This muſt be underſtood of Ships in the *Weſtern Ocean*, the Scene of Action between the *French*, and the *Engliſh*, and not of Ships in the *Mediterranean*; as There, only Gallies were in Uſe: This hath been the Caſe, even in later Times, whether the Battles have been fought in that Sea, or whether upon any Occaſion, they have come into the Ocean."

"When therefore either in the Reign of *Philip* the *Fair*, or of *Philip de Valois*, (at the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century,) Mention is made of the Men of War of *France*, or of *England*, or even of *Spain*, in the Ocean, it is always to be underſtood of ſuch Ships as are

(*e*) Mr. *Lediard* *, ſuppoſes that Father *Daniel* means in a Calm. Otherwiſe, a ſkilful Perſon at the Helm might, with a moderate Wind, certainly manage more dexterouſly, and ſhift nimbler than a great Number at their Oars.

* Naval Hiſt. V. 1. Folio. p. 48.

are worked by Sails, and not by Oars, except on a Retreat, or to gain the Wind."

"*Froiſſart*, partial to the *Engliſh*, takes no notice of the Order of Battle on the *French* Side: But it is very probable that their Fleet was arranged much in the ſame Manner."

"We learn, firſt, that the King of *England* placed all his Ships of the greateſt Force in the Front; Hence it may be concluded that he formed at leaſt two Lines. Secondly, the Ships which were placed at the two Ends of the firſt Line are mentioned to have been filled with Archers. This was that they might continually annoy the Enemy with their Arrows (*f*): And for this Reaſon, We may infer that Thoſe in the Center were filled with Men at Arms. It is alſo obſerved that he placed a Ship with Men at Arms between every two Ships of Archers; the Deſign of which was probably to be ready for a cloſe Fight. Thirdly, We are informed that He kept another Squadron at a Diſtance, as a Body of Reſerve: This, without Doubt, had Orders to detach Veſſels, from Time to Time, to the Aſſiſtance of Thoſe whom They ſhould obſerve to be the moſt preſſed (*g*)."

"What is here remarked concerning the *Engliſh* Fleet being ranged in a double Line, ſtrengthens our Aſſertion that the greateſt Part of the Fleet conſiſted of high-decked Veſſels, and not Gallies: The common Way of ranging Gallies was in the Form of a Half-Moon, the two Points, or Horns of which, advanced towards the Enemy; and the two Fleets lay with their Prows, or Heads, facing one another."

"Thus, as our Gallies, at this Time, have their Guns on their Prows or Fore-Caſtles, ſo Then, they placed

(*f*) *Father Daniel* is not extremely novel in this, and ſome of his following Concluſions.

(*g*) See Page 214.

placed their Machines, and chief Inſtruments of Defence, there. On the other Hand, in theſe high-decked Ships, the Archers, Slingers, and the *Baſtliæ* (Engines to throw Darts, or Stones) were ranged upon Deck, and they conſequently fought Broad-Side, to Broad-Side, in the ſame Manner as Now, whether in the Attack or the Defence."

"In this Æra, they were generally more ready at Boarding, after having diſcharged their Arrows, than at Preſent. They fought irregularly, not much regarding whether they broke their Line. But as this Fleet was ranged in more than one Line, it is natural to imagine that the Ships of the ſecond Line continued in Order of Battle, while Thoſe of the firſt Line grappled, and boarded (*h*)."

Edward, eager to purſue his Advantages, repaired, with a numerous Army to *Tournay*, which He inveſted, whilſt his Confederate, *Robert* of *Artois*, beſieged *Saint Omer*, which was defended by his Rival, the Duke of *Burgundy*. In a Battle fought under the Walls of the Town, the Victory was obtained by the *French*; and *Robert*, to whom the *Flemings* had been of little Service, judged it prudent to raiſe the Siege (*i*).

When *Philip de Valois* arrived with his Forces to relieve *Tournay*, He received a Challenge from *Edward*, who offered to decide the Quarrel, either in ſingle Combat, an Engagement of an Hundred againſt an equal Number, or a general Battle. The King of *France* replied, that He knew of properer Methods to correct the Inſolence of a rebellious Vaſſal; that Nothing on the Part of *Edward* was at Stake, except his Perſon; that *He* was, on the Contrary, required to hazard All, with which Condition He was even deſirous to comply, if *Ed-*

(*h*) Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, V. 1. Folio. p. 49.
(*i*) July 26, A. D. 1340.

Edward, at the ſame Time, would put the Kingdom of *England*, on the Iſſue of the Duel (*k*). Thus ended theſe Bravadoes that, probably, were not deſigned to have been executed; and *Edward* (after a fruitleſs Siege of three Months, during which He was harraſſed by *Philip*, and deſerted by his Allies) acceded to a Truce (*l*), on the Concluſion of which, He embarked, with his Queen, for *England*, where They landed on the thirtieth of November, in the Year one Thouſand, three Hundred and Forty (*m*).

Scarcely was the Truce expired, when *Edward*, engaging in the Cauſe of *John de Montford*, (whom the Nobles had declared Duke of *Bretagne*, in Oppoſition to *Charles de Blois*, Nephew to the King of *France*,) gave Orders for the Equipment of a conſiderable Fleet, which ſailed, with a large Body of heavy-armed Cavalry, and ſix Thouſand Archers, to the Relief of *Hennebone*. They were, for ſome Time, detained by contrary Winds. At length, under the Command of Sir *Walter de Mannie*, one of the moſt valiant Captains of the Age, they entered the Harbour, and ſo effectually aſſiſted the Garriſon, that the Beſiegers were, with great Slaughter, driven from their Ports (*n*), and compelled to relinquiſh their Attempts nearly in the very Inſtant, when the Place was on the Point of ſurrendering by Capitulation.

Not-

(*k*) Robert de Aveſbury, p. 60, 61.—Walter Hemingford, p. 325, 326.—T. Walſingham, p. 149.—Du Tillet. Recueil de Traitez.—Nouvelle Hiſtoire de France, T. 8. p. 381, &c.—Hiſtoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edouard 3, par M. Gaillard, T. 1. p. 254, 255, 256.

(*l*) September 25, 1340.

(*m*) Contin. Nic. Trivet. Annal. Adam Murimuth, V. 2. p. 96.—Walter Hemingford, V. 2. p. 324.—Froiſſart, Chap. 63, folio 35.—H. Knyghton, p. 2578.—T. Walſingham, p. 159.—Gaguin. Hiſt. Franc. L. 8. p. 138, 139.

(*n*) A. D. 1342.

Notwithſtanding theſe Succeſſes, the Party of *Charles de Blois* prevailed: An Event neither founded on Juſtice, nor in the leaſt agreeable to the Inclinations of the Inhabitants of the Dutchy (*o*).

On the firſt Advice of theſe Proceedings, *Edward* levied a numerous Reinforcement, and beſtowing the Command of it on the Earls of *Devonſhire*, and *Northampton*, directed them to ſail immediately for *Brittanny*. The Object of this Expedition was ſoon diſcovered to *Philip de Valois*, who ſent Orders to his Admiral, *Lewis* of *Spain*, to proceed with the Fleet, (which conſiſted of Ships hired from different Nations,) and cruize near the Iſland of *Guernſey*, in Readineſs to intercept the *Engliſh* Squadron. On this Occaſion, the Naval Armaments of *Philip* amounted to Thirty-two Sail. Amongſt theſe, Nine were Ships of great Force, and Three, powerful Gallies. On board of them were a Thouſand Men at Arms, and three Thouſand *Genoeſe*, commanded under the Admiral, by *Carolo Grimaldi*, and *Antonio Doria*. The *Engliſh* Fleet conſiſted chiefly of Tranſports, in Number about Forty-five, and carrying a Thouſand Archers, together with five Hundred Men at Arms. The *French* Squadron attacked them, unexpectedly, at Sea, near Four in the Afternoon; and the Engagement laſted until Night, when they were ſeparated by a Storm. The *French* and *Genoeſe*, whoſe Veſſels were large, ſteered with their four Prizes) off from the Land; but the Reſt of the *Engliſh* Fleet kept cloſe to it, and found an Opportunity to diſembark the Forces (*p*). Their firſt

(*o*) Mezeray, V 3. p. 17.---Hiſtoire de France, eſcrite par Ordre de M. de Harley, premier Preſident du Parlement de Paris, Vol. I. p. 494.---Froiſſart, Ch. 80, 81---H. Knyghton, p. 2581.---T. Walſinghami. Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 515.

(*p*) Holingſhed's Chronicle, V. 2. p. 363.---The Continuation of Trivet's Annals is there cited in Support of theſe Facts,

firſt Military Operations were directed againſt *Vannes*, where *Robert* of *Artois*, who had been created Earl of *Richmond*, received a mortal Wound. The Death of this unfortunate Prince induced *Edward* to paſs over with an Army of twelve Thouſand Men into *Brittanny*. He landed at *Morbian*, near to *Vannes*, and immediately opened the Campaign with three Sieges, in all of which He proved unſucceſsful. The Duke of *Normandy*, eldeſt Son of *Philip de Valois*, ſurrounded the *Engliſh* Troops with thirty Thouſand Infantry, and four Thouſand Cavalry. In ſo critical a Situation, *Edward* availed himſelf of the Mediation of the Pope, who, by his Legates, the Cardinals of *Paleſtrine*, and *Freſcati*, obtained a Treaty for a Ceſſation of Arms between the two Sovereigns, during three Years. *Edward* ſoon after the Concluſion of it returned with his Forces to *England* (*q*). To which of theſe Rival Potentates the Infraction of the Truce was owing, is immaterial to our Purpoſe. Let it be ſufficient to obſerve that *Edward* complaining (*r*), but with little ſhew of Juſtice (*s*), of the Puniſhment inflicted by *Philip*, on *Oliver de Cliſſon*, *John de Montauban*, and other Nobles of *Brittany*, addreſſed Himſelf to the Parliament for ſuch Supplies as might enable Him to renew the War. No ſooner had He obtained them, than Heralds were diſpatched to *Philip*, who, in the Name of the King of *England*, informed him that the Treaty was conſidered as already broken, and that He muſt prepare for his Defence.

Facts, which yet are not mentioned in that Continuation publiſhed by the Reverend Anthony Hall, at Oxford, in 1724.---See Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 201.

(*q*) Robert de Aveſbury, p. 102.---Walter Hemingford, V. 2. p. 359.---Contin. Nic. Trivet. Annal. V. 2. p. 97.---Froiſſart, L. 1. c. 95.---T. Walſingham.---Chron. Godſtovian.

(*r*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 5. p. 453, 454, 459, 466.

(*s*) Froiſſard, Liv. 1. chap. 96. p. 100.

fence. The Earl of *Derby* was, at the ſame Time, ſent with a Body of Troops, into *Guienne*, where He was directed to proceed to Hoſtilities. This brave, and accompliſhed Prince, was victorious in every Enterprize, except the Siege of *Blaye*, from whence, as it was a Place of ſmall Importance, He judged it more prudent to retire, than uſeleſsly to waſte his Time. *Bergerac*, and a great Part of *Perigord*, yielded to his Arms. Near *Auberoche*. He attacked the *French* Troops, commanded by the *Count de Liſle*, and amounting to ten Thouſand Men. His own Forces conſiſted ſolely of a Thouſand Cavalry, and yet He totally ſubdued the Enemy, taking the Count, and ſeveral of the Nobility, Priſoners. In this Action, the *French* loſt between ſeven, and eight Thouſand Men (*t*). He next conquered *Monſegur*, *Villefranche*, *Monpeſat*, *Tonnins*, *Miremont*, *Angouleme*, the Fortreſs of *Damaſſen*, and that of *Aiguillon*, deemed impregnable, but loſt from the *French*, through the *Cowardice* of the Governor (*u*). Having ended the Campaign, the Earl of *Derby* returned to *Bourdeaux*, loaden with Spoils.

During theſe Tranſactions, *Philip de Valois* was endeavouring to diſengage the *Flemings* from the Intereſt of *England*. Alarmed at the Event, *Edward* haſtened over to *Flanders*, reſolving either to oblige the Earl to ſwear Fealty to him, as his Sovereign, or elſe to deprive him of his Dominions. Having reached, with a ſmall Squadron, the Harbour of *Sluys*, He ſummoned a Council, (on board his great Ship the *Catharine*,) at which *James D'Arteville*, the Brewer (and the *Flemings* devoted to his Cauſe,) aſſiſted (*x*). This Man, whilſt He

(*t*) Hiſtoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edouard 3. par. M. Gaillard, T. 1. p. 272.

(*u*) Robert de Aveſbury, p. 121.---Froiſſart, Lib. 1. chap. 103, 104, 110, 112.

(*x*) A. D. 1345.

He continued to defend the Liberties of his Country, was idolized by the People: But they conceived the Reſolution of depriving him of Life, from the Moment that He was ſuſpected of an Intention to betray them. At this Interview with *Edward*, He had propoſed to ſurrender *Flanders* to the *Engliſh*, and adviſed that it ſhould be erected into a Dukedom for the Prince of *Wales*. The *Flemings*, although deſirous of humbling their Sovereign, and fixing Limits to his Power, were unwilling to exclude his Race. On this Account, they viewed the Conduct of *D'Arteville* with Horror, and Deteſtation. The Traitor perceived his Danger. He ſolicited from *Edward* a Guard of five Hundred *Welchmen*, who, to protect his Perſon, ſurrounded it whenſoever He appeared in Public. The Fury of the Populace, like their former Veneration for this Apoſtate, was not to be reſtrained. Led on by *Gerard Dennis*, a *Flemiſh* Weaver, they forced their Paſſage through the Centinels who ſurrounded his Houſe, and dragged him from the Place of his Concealment. A Cobler, with an Axe, beat out the brains of *D'Arteville*, whilſt the Reſt of his Aſſociates were engaged in the Plunder of the Houſe, and the Maſſacre of the Family (*y*). *Edward*, (who had not yet ſailed from *Sluys*,) although grieved, and exaſperated at the Conduct of the *Flemings* judged it politic to diſſemble his Reſentment. He ſeemed ſatisfied with the Excuſes of the Citizens, and, without endeavouring to puniſh the Murderers of his Ally, returned to *England*.

As the Death of *D'Arteville* had introduced a Change in the Affairs of *Flanders*, the King reſolved to confine

(*y*) Froiſſart, Lib. 1. c. 116.---Gio. Villani, p. 855.---Dupleix, Tom. II. p. 473.---Holingſhed, Vol. II. p. 368.---Stowe.---Speed.

all his warlike Operations to the ſupport of *Guienne*. The Duke of *Normandy*, at the Head of Sixty Thouſand Men, had penetrated into this Province: On the Approach of ſo formidable an Army, the Earl of *Derby* made a prudent Retreat to *Bourdeaux*, and gave the Enemy an eaſy Opportunity to attempt the Recovery of their Fortreſſes, ſeveral of which they took Poſſeſſion of, and afterwards proceeded to the Attack of *Aiguillon*. This Place was filled with a Garriſon of choſen Troops, under the Command of the Earl of *Pembroke*, and Sir *Walter de Mannie*. Such, alſo, was its natural Strength, that it became impoſſible to take it (if bravely defended,) by Aſſault. Of this, the Duke of *Normandy* (from repeated and ineffectual Attacks,) was ſufficiently convinced; and therefore had determined to reduce it by Famine. In order to prevent the Execution of this Enterprize, *Edward* (informed of it by the Earl of *Derby*,) aſſembled a conſiderable Force, with which He reſolved to haſten to the Relief of his Subjects, in *Guienne* . . . The Reader hath perceived, from ſeveral Circumſtances in his Reign, that *Edward* was equally the Hero, in the Camp, and on the Ocean. He cannot, therefore, think it neceſſary that We ſhould apologize for Digreſſions in which the Naval, and Military Atchievements of the King are circumſtantially related, whenſoever they appear to be inſeparably united.

The Fleet, conſiſting of a Thouſand Sail, being ready to proceed, *Edward*, and the Prince of *Wales* (attended by an Army compoſed of four Thouſand Men at Arms, ten Thouſand Archers, ten Thouſand *Welch* Infantry, and ſix Thouſand *Iriſh*,) embarked at *Southampton*, in the Summer of the Year one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Forty-Six (z). Soon after their Depar-

(z) June 4.

Departure, they were driven back on the Coaſt of *Cornwall*, by violent Storms, and contrary Winds (*a*). Here, they lay at Anchor during ſix Days. The King, now, expreſſed his Apprehenſions of not arriving in Time, at *Guienne*; and, at length, determined to change his Courſe, and make a Deſcent on *Normandy*. Thither, the Fleet was ordered to ſail; and, in the following Week, he (*b*) landed with his Troops at *La Hogue*. Whilſt his Admiral, the Earl of *Huntingdon* deſtroyed all the *French* Ships in this Harbour, and thoſe of *Barfleur*, and *Cherburg*, *Edward* ſpread his Army over the whole Country. *Montebourg*, *Valognes*, *Carentan*, *Saint Lo*, *Harfleur*, and other Places in the *Contentin* were taken, and pillaged, without Reſiſtance. The next Victory was acquired under the Walls of the populous, and commercial City of *Caen*. At the firſt Attack, the *French* Army, commanded by the Counts of *Eu*, and *Tancarville*, fled with Precipitation. The *Engliſh* entered the Place, and after an inhuman Maſſacre of the Inhabitants, without the leaſt Diſtinction either of Age, or Sex, began the Plunder, which continued during three Days. The Plate, Jewels, Silk, valuable Cloths, and fine Linen were reſerved by *Edward*, for his own Uſe, and ſent in one of the largeſt Ships to *England*, together with three Hundred of the moſt opulent Inhabitants of *Caen*, the future Price of whoſe Liberty was a material Object (*c*).

Edward continued his March through the Biſhoprics of *Liſieux*, and *Evreaux*, and after having burned, and plundered the Towns, upon the Road, arrived at *Poiſſi*, from whence He ſent an Herald with a Defiance to *Philip*. This Monarch, who had formed the Deſign of

(*a*) Robert de Aveſbury, p. 123.
(*b*) July 12.
(*c*) Froiſſart, Lib. 1. c. 125, 126.

incloſing his Rival between the *Seine*, and the *Oyſe*, returned for Anſwer that He refuſed the Challenge. *Edward*, ſuſpecting his Intentions, decamped from *Poiſſi*, and arrived at the Borders of the *Somme* (*d*).

On this Spot, He was ſurrounded by Difficulties, in Appearance too great to be ſurmounted. Every Bridge on the River, except that of *Abbeville*, was either broken down, or ſtrongly guarded. *Godemar de Faye* waited on the oppoſite Bank to attack him, with a formidable Army. *Philip*, attended by an Hundred Thouſand of his Forces, was advancing from *Saint Denys*. In this dreadful Extremity, *Edward* offered a conſiderable Reward to any Perſon who ſhould inform him of a Paſſage acroſs the *Somme*. A Peaſant called *Gobin Agace*, ſeduced by Avarice to aſſiſt the Enemies of his Country, diſcovered to them the Ford of *Blanchetague*, which had a ſound Bottom, and might be eaſily paſſed at Low-Water (*e*). It was the ſole Reſource of *Edward*. He plunged at once into the River, and followed by all his Troops, croſſed over to the Shore. The *French*, attempting to oppoſe his Progreſs, were driven from their Station, and purſued with great Slaughter, towards the adjoining Plain. On the ſame Evening, He encamped at the little Village of *Crecy*, whilſt *Philip* (whoſe Army reached the Ford, when the Rear-Guard of the *Engliſh* was paſſing it,) croſſed the *Somme*, at *Abbeville*, and immediately prepared for Battle.

The Army of *Edward* was advantageouſly poſted on a riſing ground, and divided into three Lines. The King had given the Command of the firſt Line to the Prince of *Wales*, then, in his ſixteenth Year. Under Him, were the Earls of *Warwick*, and *Oxford*; *Harcourt*; the Lords *Chandos*, *Holland*; and other Nobles. The

(*d*) Ibid. c. 121.
(*e*) Ibid. c. 127.

The Earls of *Arundel*, and *Northampton*; the Lords *Willoughby*, *Baſſet*, and *Roos*, together with Sir *Lewis Tufton* were at the Head of the Second Line. The third Diviſion was commanded by *Edward*, who intended that it ſhould act, either as a Reinforcement to the two firſt Lines; or, in Caſe of Danger, facilitate a Retreat; or, on the Point of Victory, purſue the Enemy. Leſt the numerous Bodies of the *French* ſhould attack his Army in Flank, He threw up Trenches to ſecure it: uſing the ſame Precautions for his Baggage, which was placed in a Wood, ſituated in the Rear (*f*).

Philip, burning with Impatience, and Reſentment, would not permit his Troops to reſt a Moment from their Fatigue; but led them on, directly to the Attack (*g*). They, were divided into three Bodies, the Firſt of which (conſiſting of fifteen Thouſand *Genoeſe*, Croſs-Bow-Men,) was commanded by *Carolo Grimaldi*, and *Antonio Doria*. At the Head of the Second, was *Charles*, Count of *Alençon*, and Brother to *Philip*, who engaged Himſelf to bring up the third Diviſion. Three Sovereigns fought alſo on his Side: The King of *Bohemia*; The King of the *Romans*, his Son; and the King of *Majorca*. Beſides Theſe, were all the Nobles, and great Vaſſals of the Crown. The Army, which trebled that of *Edward*, amounted with the Reinforcements, to an Hundred, and Twenty Thouſand Men.

The Battle began with a Diſcharge from the *Genoeſe*; but as the Strings of the Croſs-Bows had been moiſtened, and relaxed by a preceding Shower, moſt of the Arrows fell ſhort of their Direction. The *Engliſh* Archers (whoſe Bows having been ſecured in Caſes,

(*f*) Ibid. c. 128,

(*g*) Hiſtoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edouard 3. par M. Gaillard, T. 1. p. 288.

were not the leaſt wetted,) drew upon the Enemy, and galled them ſo violently that they retreated, in Diſorder. The *Genoeſe* fell back upon the heavy-armed Cavalry of the Count of *Alençon*, who, ſuſpecting them to be Traitors, commanded his Troops to put them to the Sword. At this Inſtant, the Artillery of *Edward* ſeconded by another Volley of Arrows, was fired againſt the *French* who, yielding to the Shock, were overwhelmed with Terror, and Confuſion. Availing himſelf of this Circumſtance, the Prince of *Wales*, at the Head of his Line, advanced gallantly to the Charge. On a Sudden, they were ſurrounded by a large Body of the *French* Cavalry, who, partly recovering from their Diſorder, and rouſed by the Intrepidity of their General, made a vigorous Defence, and preſſed hard on their Aſſailants. Leſt the young *Edward* ſhould have been overpowered by ſuch Numbers, the Earls of *Arundel*, and *Northampton* arrived, with their Diviſion to his Relief. The Victory was now obſtinately conteſted by both Parties; and the Prince performed Prodigies of Valour. As He was engaged in a Poſt of Danger, and hemmed round by increaſing Multitudes, the Earl of *Warwick* judged it neceſſary to diſpatch an Officer to the King, and requeſt from Him freſh Succours for the Prince. *Edward* inquired if He was wounded, and, being anſwered in the Negative, replied: "*Tell my* "*Son that the Honour of the Day is reſerved for Him: I* "*am certain that He will merit the Knighthood to which I* "*have advanced Him. He can conquer without my Aſ-* "*ſiſtance.*" When the Prince, and his brave Confederates were made acquainted with the Meſſage, their Ardour was redoubled. They attacked the *French* with a Violence not to be reſiſted. A dreadful Slaughter of the Cavalry, commanded by the Count of *Alençon*, (who fell fighting at their Head,) threw all into Confuſion; and

and the *Welch* Infantry, inſtructed (as were the *Engliſh*, and *Iriſh* Troops,) to grant no Quarter, ruſhed fiercely on the Enemy, and with their long Knives, cut the Throats of All whom they could ſeize.

Philip de Valois remained one of the Laſt within the Field; and, although without Hope, appeared determined to periſh rather than give up an ineffectual Struggle for the Victory. Two Horſes had been killed under Him: Yet neither theſe Diſaſters, nor the Wounds in his Neck and Thigh, nor the more alarming Danger of being taken Priſoner, could induce him to retire. *John* of *Hainault*, at length, ſeized the Reins of his Bridle, and conducted him, by Force, from the Camp. All his Troops fled with the utmoſt Precipitation. Until Night, they were purſued and ſlain without Mercy, by the *Engliſh*. *Edward*, on his Return to the Field, embraced the Prince of *Wales*, and in a Tranſport of Joy, exclaimed; "*My Valiant Son! You* "*have, on this glorious Day, acquitted Yourſelf with Ho-*" *nour. Proceed in Your illuſtrious Progreſs! Moſt tru-*" *ly do You deſerve the Crown for which you have contend-*" *ed.*"

This memorable Battle (which was fought (*h*) in the Fields between *Abbeville*, and *Crecy*, *in Picardy*,) laſted from three in the Afternoon, until the Evening. The Morning which ſucceeded it was extremely foggy; and when the *Engliſh* perceived that Numbers of the Enemy had wandered from their Road, during the Night, and in the Miſt, they had recourſe to a deteſtable Contrivance, in Order to ſecure them. Some *French* Standards, taken in the Battle, were planted on an Eminence; the ſtraggling Parties of *Philip*, ſuppoſing that the Signal had been made for Rallying, came eagerly

(*h*) Auguſt 26, 1346.

eagerly to the Spot, where, againſt the Laws of Humanity, and even of War, as conducted during a barbarous Æra, they were all maſſacreed. On a Multitude of Occaſions, the Heroiſm of *Edward* was mixed with Cruelty.

The *French* loſt twelve Hundred Knights fourteen Hundred Gentlemen, and four Thouſand Men at Arms, beſides about thirty Thouſand of inferior Rank. The Dukes of *Lorraine*, and *Bourbon*; the Earls of *Flanders*, *Blois*, *Vaudemont*, and *Aumale*, together with the Kings of *Majorca* and *Bohemia*, were left on the Field of Battle. The laſt, although deprived of Sight, and ſinking under Age and Infirmities, expreſſed a Wiſh to cloſe his Life in the Defence of *France*. Having ordered the Reins of his Bridle to be tied to the Horſes of two Knights in his Retinue, He proceeded to the Place of Action, where He is mentioned to have fought, Hand to Hand, with the Prince of *Wales*. His dead Body, and thoſe of his Attendants were found amongſt the Slain: The two Horſes ſtood by them. The Creſt of this King, repreſenting three Oſtrich Feathers, encircled with a *German* Motto, (*Ich dien. I ſerve,*) was brought to the Prince of *Wales*, who, in Memory of the Victory, made it a Part of his Armorial Bearings. Our Hiſtorians obſerve that only one Eſquire, three Knights, and very Few of inferior Rank were killed on the Side of the *Engliſh*. But theſe Accounts are abſolutely incredible. More muſt have fallen, at the Time when the Cavalry rallied, under the Count of *Alençon*, and engaged ſo obſtinately with the Prince of *Wales* and his Aſſociates (*i*).

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(*i*) For the whole of this Account, See Walter Hemingford, V. 2. p. 381.---Robert de Aveſbury, p. 123.---Contin. Nic. Trivet, et Adam Murimuth. Annal. V. 2. p. 99. ---Froiſ-

The next warlike Enterprize of *Edward* was directed againſt *Calais*, to the Siege of which He marched with his whole Army, and drew up before the Place, on the thirty-firſt Day of Auguſt, in the Year one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Forty-ſix. Here, the King of *England* purſued a Conqueſt of the higheſt Importance, as its Succeſs not only gave him Poſſeſſion of the Key to *France*, but opened a Communication with the Earldom of *Ponthieu*, which then belonged to Him. *John* of *Vienne*, the Governor of *Calais*, aſſiſted by the brave Exertions of the Townſmen, and the Troops, ſo effectually repelled the Aſſaults of the Enemy, that *Edward* felt the Neceſſity of reducing by Famine, thoſe whom He could not vanquiſh by Force. His Army was advantageouſly encamped; Entrenchments were drawn around the City; and, for the Advantage of the Soldiers, a kind of Wooden Town was erected (*k*), wherein were Magazines for Proviſions, and Military Stores, together with extenſive Warehouſes filled with Wool, and Cloth, intended to ſupply, by a conſtant Trade, at two ſettled Markets, the Sinews of War; and, as the moſt ſalutary Reſult, to keep up a conſtant Payment of the Troops, and thus inſpire them with greater Chearfulneſs, in the Exerciſe of their Duty.

At the ſame Time, the Harbour of *Calais* was blocked up by an *Engliſh* Fleet, conſiſting of ſeven Hundred, and Thirty-eight Sail, on board of which were fourteen Thou-

---Froiſſart, Chap. 125, 126, 127, 128, &c.---T. Walſingham, p. 166.---Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 2. p. 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437.---Rapin's Hiſt. of England, 8vo. V. 3. p. 458, 459, 460.---H. Knyghton, p. 2588.---Hiſtoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edouard 3. V. 1. p. 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, ---Villaret.---D'Orlean's Revolutions d'Angleterre.

(*k*) Froiſſart, Chron. L. 1. c. 144, 145.---Robert de Aveſbury, p. 161, 162.

Thouſand, nine Hundred, and Fifty-ſix Mariners. Of theſe Ships, ſeven Hundred belonged to the Subjects of *Edward*, and only Thirty-eight to Foreigners. From Hence, We may reaſonably conclude that our Naval Armaments during this Æra, were more numerous than Thoſe of all the other Powers. The Fleets ſerving under *Philip* were, chiefly, hired from the *Genoeſe*.

John of *Vienne* was ſoon reduced to the ſevereſt Extremities. To increaſe the Subſiſtence of the Reſt, He drove out of the City all the *uſeleſs Mouths*. Theſe, amounting to ſeventeen Hundred, were humanely entertained by *Edward*, who after loading them with Gifts, and Proviſions, gave Orders that they ſhould be conducted in Safety through the Camp (*l*). As the Famine became more afflicting, the Governor made a ſecond Attempt upon the Compaſſion of *Edward*, and diſmiſſed from *Calais* five Hundred of the Inhabitants. Theſe, however, were barbarouſly neglected, and periſhed between the City, and the Army of the Beſiegers.

The Communications from the Land were ſo ſtrictly intercepted, that *John* of *Vienne* was deprived of Opportunities of diſpatching Meſſengers to *Philip*, with an Account of the Sufferings of his Subjects. At length, reſolving to run all Hazards, He ſent a Letter by Sea, and, after having deſcribed the Wretchedneſs of his Situation, aſſured his Sovereign that unleſs he was immediately relieved, it was his Determination to ſally forth at the Head of his Troops, and periſh in the Conteſt with the *Engliſh*. This Letter was intercepted; a *Genoeſe* Bark which carried it had eſcaped from *Calais*, but was purſued by a Ship belonging to the Fleet of *Edward*, and taken. When the Captain perceived the Neceſſity of ſurrendering, He tied the Diſpatches to an Axe,

(*l*) Froiſſart.

Axe, in order to facilitate their ſinking, and threw them overboard. At low water, they were found upon the Sands, and brought to *Edward*, who directly forwarded them to *Philip*, and commanded the Meſſenger to acquaint Him, with Taunts, and Defiances, that if He did not inſtantly repair to the Aſſiſtance of his Friends, they muſt be forced to yield Themſelves, and *Calais*, to the Mercy of the *Engliſh*. The King of *France*, aſſembling an Army of an Hundred, and Fifty Thouſand Men, approached, by haſty Marches, to within a Mile of the Enemy, whom He found ſo ſtrongly entrenched, that all Attempts to force their Lines muſt have proved abortive. In this Exigency, *Philip* had recourſe to a Challenge. His Advantage reſulted from Numbers; That of *Edward* from Situation. It was therefore propoſed to the Laſt that all Superiority ſhould be given up by each Party, and that they ſhould proceed to Action, beyond the Entrenchments, with an equal Number of Troops. To this *Edward* only replied that *Calais* was his Object, and that if *Philip* judged it neceſſary to prevent his taking it, He muſt purſue the Meaſures which were the moſt likely to accompliſh ſuch Deſigns. Unſucceſsful in his firſt Propoſals, the *French* King ſent two Cardinals with Terms of Peace, and Offers to *Edward*, of *Guienne*, the Earldom of *Ponthieu*, and a Marriage between their Children. He was anſwered that the Meſſage was almoſt too ridiculous to be honoured with the leaſt Attention; that *Guienne*, and *Ponthieu* already belonged to *Edward*, who, as He was on the Point of taking Poſſeſſion of *Calais*, ſtood in no need of the great Bounty of *Philip*. The laſt abſurd Reſource of this deſpairing Adverſary was announced by an Herald who, in the Name of his Sovereign, required a Deciſion of the Quarrel by a Combat of Six on each Side. When

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He added that the King of *France* would appoint Time, and Place, the Earl of *Derby* anſwered, "*That muſt be* "*Edward, ſince He is the true King of France.*" By ſuch a Pretenſion, was the Propoſal at once deſtroyed, and *Edward* left to purſue the Object of his Wiſhes in the Reduction of *Calais*. The Queen arrived ſoon afterwards from *England*, with a Reinforcement of ſeventeen Thouſand Men. On this Occaſion, it is recorded that *Edward* offered to quit his Entrenchments, and give Battle to *Philip*, provided that He would engage that no Succours ſhould be ſent into *Calais* until the Victory ſhould have been gained by either one, or the other Party. *Philip* refuſed to comply with theſe Conditions, and being informed at the ſame Time, that ſome Store-Ships, proceeding to the Relief of *Calais*, had been intercepted, and taken by an *Engliſh* Squadron, He retired, to avoid the Anguiſh of ſeeing the City fall into the Hands of the Enemy, whoſe Lines were ſo powerfully ſecured, that the Attacks of an Army even more formidable than his own would have proved incapable of breaking them.

Famine, and Fatigue had, by this Time, reduced the Fortreſs of *Calais* to the laſt Extremity, and *John* of *Vienne*, the Governor, ſenſible of the Neceſſity of ſurrendering, appeared on the Walls, and made a Signal for a Parley. Sir *Walter de Mannie* having been ſent by *Edward* to know what was in Agitation, received this Anſwer: "*Brave Knight! Almoſt a Year hath* "*elapſed ſince the* Engliſh *began to lay Siege to* Calais, "*with the Command of which* Philip de Valois *is pleaſed* "*to intruſt me. I, and the Garriſon have done our Duty*; "*We muſt at leaſt have merited your Eſteem. Hunger,* "*and the total Want of the common Conveniences of Life* "*oblige us to ſurrender. I only aſk the Conqueror to ſpare* "*our Lives, and ſuffer us to depart.*"—*Mannie* replied, that

that He was too ſenſible of the Reſentment which *Edward* bore againſt the Governor, and his Confederates, for their obſtinate Reſiſtance, to think that He would liſten to theſe Propoſals, and therefore ventured to aſſure him, that He, and all the Inhabitants muſt ſurrender at Diſcretion. "*Reflect*" (anſwered the Governor,) "*that thoſe who have ſignalized themſelves by In-*
"*trepidity, and Perſeverance are intitled to a humane, and*
"*honourable Treatment! I acted as the King of* England
"*would have expected his Knights to have acted, in the*
"*ſame Situation. The loyal Services which the Burghers*
"*of* Calais *have performed for the Defence of their Sove-*
"*reign, and his Fortreſs, demand the Applauſe of every*
"*Prince, but of no Prince ſo particularly as the gallant*
"Edward. *If even the meaneſt Citizen muſt periſh,*
"*Be aſſured that We will all periſh; and the Price of our*
"*Lives may be more fatal than You imagine. To prevent*
"*theſe terrible Extremities is equally the Intereſt of each*
"*Party. From the Juſtice of the King of England We*
"*expect an Alteration in his Sentiments; and our Opinion,*
"*Brave Knight! of the Generoſity which marks your Cha-*
"*racter will not ſuffer us to entertain a Doubt of your De-*
"*termination to exert your Intereſt in our Behalf.*"

Sir *Walter de Mannie* pleaded, on his Return, the Cauſe of the Beſieged, with ſuch Reſolution, and Perſeverance, that *Edward* now convinced of the Danger of Repriſals, ſhould He exerciſe too implacable a Severity againſt the Inhabitants of *Calais*, was perſuaded to abate the Rigour of his Demands, and He only inſiſted that Six of the Chief Citizens ſhould come to his Camp, bare-footed, and bare-headed, with the Keys of the Place in their Hands, and Ropes about their Necks. Theſe were to ſurrender themſelves to be diſpoſed of as *Edward* ſhould think proper. On ſuch Conditions He promiſed to ſpare the Lives of all the Reſt.

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The Feelings of the Inhabitants of *Calais*, when they received Intelligence of the Reſolutions of the Conqueror, are not to be deſcribed. All was Silence, Horror, Aſtoniſhment, and Deſpair. At length, one of the Chief Burghers, *Euſtace de Saint Pierre*, exclaimed; "*I offer myſelf as a Victim to the Fury of Edward.*" He was immediately joined by *John* of *Aire*. "*Neither*" (added *James de Wiſſant*,) "*Will I be ſeparated from my* "*Couſins.*" He, alſo, was followed by *Peter de Wiſſant*, his Brother. The Names of the two remaining illuſtrious Victims are unknown. The Annals of *Calais* inform us that they were drawn by Lot from amongſt more than an Hundred, who offered themſelves all at once. A celebrated Tragedian (*m*) imagines that the great Number of Competitors may have hindered the Preſervation of the Names of the two laſt of theſe Burghers. This Circumſtance, which is neither related, nor denied, by *Froiſſart*, is obſerved (*n*) to have been as probable in itſelf, as it is honourable to the People of *Calais*; It was not poſſible to admire ſuch Heroiſm, without a wiſh to imitate it. Scarcely had *Euſtace de Saint Pierre* declared his Reſolution of offering himſelf a Sacrifice to the Vengeance of *Edward*, than all his Fellow Citizens (to borrow the ſimple, but beautiful Expreſſion of *Froiſſart*,) ran in pity to adore Him (*o*). This virtuous Individual, and his Aſſociates, appeared before *Edward*, bare-footed, in their Shirts, and with Halters hanging from their Necks: They found him, not ſoftened by their Magnanimity, but ſo violently exaſperated, that when He had taken from them the Keys of *Calais*, He directed, in ſpite of the Deſire of the Prince

(*m*) M. de Belloi.

(*n*) Hiſtoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edouard 3. Vol. I. p. 322.

(*o*) "Chacun l'alla adorer de Pitié."

Prince of *Wales*, and all the Nobles, that they ſhould be led inſtantly to Execution. When their Fate was judged inevitable, the Queen became their Advocate. Her Tears and Interceſſions prevailed over the Reſolution of *Edward*. He conſented to give them Life, and Liberty. The generous *Philippa* invited them to her Tent, from whence, after having been treated with neceſſary Refreſhments, and ſupplied with Money, and Apparel, they were conducted in Safety through the Camp (*p*).

The hiſtorical Conjectures of Mr. *Hume*, ſeem generally built on too ſolid a Foundation to be overthrown by any Details which are not at once the moſt poſitive, and incontrovertible. Having expatiated on the Circumſtances relating to the Siege of *Calais*, We ſhall, therefore, not to omit placing before the Reader whatſoever may be likely to aſſiſt his Judgment, inſert the Subſtance of a Note which hath been written by that admired Author.

He obſerves that the Story of the Six Burgeſſes of *Calais*, like all other extraordinary Stories, is ſomewhat to be ſuſpected; and ſo much the more, as *Robert de Aveſbury*, in the one Hundred, and Sixty-ſeventh Page of his Work, where He is particular in his Narration of the Surrender of *Calais*, ſays nothing of it; but, on the

(*p*) For the Particulars relating to the Siege of *Calais*, Conſult Robert de Aveſbury, p. 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141.—Hiſtoire de France, V. 1. p. 503.—Mezeray, p. 29.—Froiſſart.—T. Otterbourne, p. 132.—H. Knyghton, p. 2595.—Dupleix, V. 2. p. 388.—Hume's Hiſtory of England, Octavo, V. 2. p. 457, 458, 440, 441, 442, 443.—Rapin's Hiſtory of England, Octavo, V. 3. p. 461, 462, 463, 464, 465.—Hiſtoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edouard 3. V. 1. p. 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329.

the contrary, extols, in general, the Lenity, and Generoſity of the King to the Inhabitants. The numberleſs miſtakes of *Froiſſart*, proceeding either from Negligence, Credulity, or Love of the Marvellous, invalidate very much his Teſtimony, even although He was a Contemporary, and although his Hiſtory was dedicated to Queen *Philippa* herſelf. That Princeſs, had ſhe carefully peruſed the Work, and taken the Pains to correct his Miſtakes, could have ſet him right in a Hundred other Particulars. For Inſtance, *Froiſſart* makes the *Scots*, with their King at their Head, beſiege *Saliſbury* about this Time; but the Queen could have told him that they never got farther than *Durham*, and that it was near this latter City, She defeated them, and took their King Priſoner. It is a great Miſtake to imagine that the Patrons of Dedications read the Books, much leſs vouch for all the Contents of them. It is not a ſlight Teſtimony that ſhould make us give Credit to a Story ſo diſhonourable for *Edward*, eſpecially after that Proof of his Humanity in allowing a free Paſſage to all the Women, Children, and infirm People, at the Beginning of the Siege: At leaſt, it is ſcarcely to be believed that if the Story has any Foundation, He ſeriouſly meant to execute his Menaces againſt the ſix Townſmen of *Calais (q)*.

Edward took poſſeſſion of *Calais (r)*, and obliging all the former Inhabitants to retire, directed the *Engliſh* to occupy their Houſes. He made the City a Staple of Wool, Leather, Tin, and Lead, the four principal Articles vendible at the Foreign Markets. Thither, all the *Engliſh* were commanded to bring their Commodities,

(*q*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 2. Note H. p. 511.

(*r*) Auguſt 4, 1347.

ties, which were afterwards purchaſed by the Merchants of other Nations. Such an Inſtitution is, on the Whole, ſuppoſed to have been advantageous to the Kingdom, as at this Period, the Poſts were not eſtabliſhed, and the Communication between States was as yet exceedingly imperfect. If any Detriment aroſe, it was probably confined to the Navigation of *England* (*s*). Having adjuſted his Plans of Government, and Commerce, the King returned Home, and ſpent the Remainder of the Year in ſplendid Triumphs, and Tournaments.

We muſt allow, with a Naval Hiſtorian (*t*), that a Fleet compoſed of ſo great a Number of Ships as were made Uſe of for the Blockade of the Harbour of *Calais*, may, at the preſent Æra, when a tenth Part of the Number would be ſuppoſed to form a large, and powerful Navy, appear ſtrange, and incredible. But the Wonder will ceaſe, when We reflect upon the extreme Diſproportion between the Magnitude of the Ships employed in the Maritime Wars of the fourteenth Century, and of Thoſe which now belong to the *Engliſh* Fleet. To give the Reader a juſt Idea of this Diſproportion, it may be proper to lay before Him a State of the Fleet attending *Edward* on his Expedition againſt *Calais*. From a Record in the *Cottonian* Library, it appears to have amounted to ſeven Hundred, and Thirty-eight Ships, on board of which were fourteen Thouſand, nine Hundred, and Fifty ſix Mariners, of whom Each was allowed at the Rate of Four-Pence *per Diem*. But of Theſe, no more abſolutely belonged to the King than Twenty-five Ships, carrying about four Hundred, and Nineteen Seamen, which at a Medium, was not above Seventeen to each Ship; and throughout the

(*s*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 2. p. 443.
(*t*) Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, V. 1. folio, p. 52.

Whole, taking One with Another, there were only Few which had above Twenty-ſix Men. The Ships furniſhed by the Maritime Ports were larger than Thoſe belonging to the Royal Navy. Such, eſpecially, were the Ships fitted out by *London*, *Sandwich*, *Dover*, *Dartmouth*, *Plymouth*, *Briſtol*, *Southampton*, *Newcaſtle*, *Lynn*, *Yarmouth*, *Harwich*, *Ipſwich*, and *Colcheſter*. From hence, We may diſcover the State of our Maritime Power in that Æra (*u*). Even then, before, and afterwards, the greateſt Part of the Navy of *England* was compoſed of Merchant-Ships, furniſhed by the Sea-Ports. *Hackluyt* hath tranſmitted to us a Roll (during that Period, extant in the King's great Wardrobe at *London*,) of this formidable Fleet, diſtinguiſhing the Numbers of Ships, and Men provided by each City, Town, or Sea-Port. The Copy of the Roll in the *Cottonian* Library is yet in Being. Several Names of the Ports mentioned in this Roll are, in a Meaſure, loſt to us. Then, *Yarmouth* was the firſt Town for Shipping in *England*: *Foy* in *Cornwall* furniſhed more Seamen than *London*, and *Winchelſea*, in *Suſſex* almoſt as Many. At that Time, the Navy was fitted out in the Name of a Militia, and no Town that had any Pretence to Trade was excuſed from ſending its Quota. A Tranſcript of the Liſts, which differ from each Other in ſome Particulars, will prove in what Manner the Sea-Ports were proportionably rated, and what Number of Ships, and Men, Each was obliged to furniſh. The Names, and Orthography of Places are inſerted according to the preſent Mode. Where the Difference is great, the ancient Names are added in a Parentheſis.

(*u*) Burchett's Naval Hiſtory.

THE

The Roll of King Edward the Third's Fleet before Calais.

The South Fleet.

Furniſhed by	*Cotton Libr.* (*x*). *Ships.*	*Mariners.*	*Hackluyt.* (*y*). *Ships.*	*Mariners.*
The King	25	419	25	419
London	25	662	25	662
Miltore, (*Aylesford*)	2	24	2	24
Hoo, (*Mome*)	2	24	2	24
Maidſtone			2	51
Hope	2	4	2	59
New Heyth, (*Newhithe*)	5	19	5	49
Margate	15	160	15	160
Motme	2	23	2	22
Feverſham	2	23	2	25
Sandwich	22	504	22	504
Dover	21	336	16	336
Wight	13	220	13	220
Winchelſea	21	596	21	596
Weymouth	20	264	15	263
Lyme	4	62	4	62
Seaton	2	25	2	25
Sydmouth	3	62	3	62
Exmouth	10	193	12	193
Tegmouth	7	120	7	120
Dartmouth	31	757	31	757
Portſmouth	5	96	5	96
Loo	20	325	20	315
Yalm, (*Yalye*)	2	48	2	47
Foy, (*Fowey*)	47	770	47	770

Carried over

(*x*) M. S. in Bibl. Cotton. Titus, F. III. 8.
(*y*) Hackluyt, Part 1. p. 118.

Furniſhed by	*Cotton Libr.* Ships.	Mariners.	*Hackluyt.* Ships.	Mariners.
Brought over				
Briſtol	24	608	12	608
Tinmouth	2	25	2	25
Haſtings	5	96	5	96
Romney	4	75	4	65
Rye	9	156	9	156
Hieth	6	112	6	122
Shoreham	26	329	20	329
Seaford	5	80	5	80
Newmouth	2	18	2	18
Hammowle-Hooke	7	117	7	117
Hooke	11	208	11	208
Southampton	21	576	21	576
Lymington	9	159	9	159
Poole	4	94	4	94
Wareham	3	59	3	59
Swanzey	1	29	1	29
Ilfra-Combe, (*Ithercom*)	6	79	6	79
Padſtowe, (*Patrick-Stowe*).	2	17	2	27
Polerwan	1	60	1	60
Wadworth	1	14	1	14
Cardiffe, (*Hendeſſe*)	1	51	1	51
Bridgewater	1	15	1	15
Caermarthen	1	16	1	16
Cailchefworth	1	12	1	12
Mulbrook	1	12	1	12
Total of the South Fleet	493	9630	493	9630

The

The NORTH FLEET.

Furniſhed by	*Cotton Libr.* *Ships.*	*Mariners.*	*Hackluyt.* *Ships.*	*Mariners.*
Bamburg —	1	9	1	9
Newcaſtle —	17	414	17	314
Walwich, (*Walkrich*)	1	12	1	12
Hartlepool —	5	145	5	145
Hull —	16	466	16	466
York — —	1	9	1	9
Ravenſpurg, (*Ravenſer*)	1	28	1	27
Woodhouſe —	1	12	1	22
Stolkhithe, (*Stroke-hithe*)	1	10	1	10
Barton —	3	30	3	30
Sunfleet, (*Swyne-Fleet*)	1	11	1	11
Saltfleet —	2	49	2	49
Grimſby (*Gryn-Fleet*)	11	71	11	171
Wainfleet —	2	44	2	49
Wrangle —	1	8	1	8
Lynn —	19	482	16	382
Blackney —	2	38	2	38
Scarborough —	1	19	1	19
Yarmouth (z)	43	1905	43	1075
Dunwich —	6	102	6	102
Orford —	3	62	3	62
Gofford, (*Gofforord*)	13	404	13	303
Harwich —	14	283	14	283
Ipſwich —	12	239	12	239
Merſey, (*Merten*)	1	6	1	6
Brickelſea, (*Broughtlynſea*)	5	61	5	61
Colcheſter —	5	170	5	90
Whitbanas —	1	17	1	17
Derwen —	1	15	1	15

Carried over

(z) The Liſt in Hackluyt ſays 1950, or 1075.

Furniſhed by	*Cotton Libr. Ships.*	*Mariners.*	*Hackluyt. Ships.*	*Mariners.*
Brought over				
Boſton —	17	361	17	361
Suinhumber —	1	32	1	32
Malden —	2	32	2	32
Barton — —	5	61	5	91
Total of the North Fleet	217	4521	217	4521
Total of the whole Eng. Fl.	700	14151	700	14151

FOREIGNERS.

Furniſhed by	*Cotton Libr. Ships.*	*Mariners.*	*Hackluyt. Ships.*	*Mariners.*
Bayonne —	15	439	15	439
Spain — —	7	184	7	184
Ireland —	1	25	1	35
Flanders —	14	134	14	133
Guelderland —	1	24	1	24
Total of the whole Fleet	738	14956	738	14956

The Sum Total of the Ships, and Men in the whole Fleet, as well as in the particular Fleets, agree in each Liſt, although not in every Article. They are both wrong caſt up, yet, as the Difference is not great, the Original from whence the Whole is taken hath been exactly copied.

Of the enormous Sums expended to ſupport the Navy, and Army, the Reader may form a Judgment, from the following Account.

To the Prince of *Wales*, by the Day, twenty Shillings.

To

To the Biſhop of *Durham*, by the Day, ſix Shillings, and Eight-Pence.

To thirteen Earls, Each by the Day, ſix Shillings, and Eight-Pence.

To forty-four Barons, and Bannerets, Each by the Day, four Shillings.

To one Thouſand, and Forty-ſix Knights, Each by the Day, two Shillings.

To four Thouſand, and Twenty-two Eſquires, Conſtables, Captains, and Leaders, Each by the Day, one Shilling.

To *Vintenars* (anſwerable to Serjeants,) that had the Command of Twenty Men, and to five Thouſand, one Hundred, and Four Archers on Horſeback, Each by the Day, Sixpence.

To three Hundred, and Fifty-five *Pauncenars*, Each by the Day, Sixpence. Theſe were Foreigners, and probably derived their Name, from the *Saxon*, and *German* Word *Pantzern*, which ſignifies a Coat of Mail.

To five Hundred *Hobelars*, Each by the Day, Six-Pence. Theſe, perhaps, were Pioneers. The Expreſſion ſeems to have been taken from the *Saxon*, and *German* Verb, *Hobelen*, to plane, or make even.

To fifteen Thouſand four Hundred, and eighty Archers, on Foot, Each by the Day, Three-Pence.

To three Hundred, and Fourteen Maſons, Carpenters, Smiths, Engineers, Gunners armed, and Thoſe that had the Care of the Artillery, Some a Shilling, Others Ten-Pence, or Six-Pence, or Three-Pence, by the Day.

To two Hundred *Vintenars* in the *Welch* Infantry, Each by the Day, Four-Pence. To the remaining four Thouſand, two Hundred, and Seventy-four *Welſhmen* Each by the Day, Two-pence.

The whole Number of the Men at Arms, excluſive of the Lords, amounted to Thirty-one Thouſand, two Hundred, and Ninety-four. The Maſters, Captains, Mariners, and Boys for ſeven Hundred Ships, were in Number, ſixteen Thouſand.

The Sum Total of the War, including the Wages of the Mariners, from the fourth of *June*, in the twentieth Year of *Edward* the Third, until the the twelfth of *October*, on the twenty-firſt Year of his Reign, comprizing the Space of one Year, and a Hundred, and Thirty-one Days, amounted to one Hundred, and Twenty-ſeven Thouſand, one Hundred, and one Pounds, two Shillings, and Nine-Pence (*a*).

Edward, on his Departure from *Calais*, had entruſted the Government of it to *Aimery de Pavie*, an *Italian* Officer of eſtabliſhed Courage, but mercenary, and perfidious. The Lord *de Charney*, (who commanded the *French* Army, encamped near Saint *Omers*,) acquainted with his Diſpoſition, undertook to corrupt Him, and reſtore *Calais* to *Philip*. The Bargain was concluded for the Sum of twenty Thouſand Crowns. The Secretary of the Governor, having diſcovered his Infidelity, ſent Notice of it to *Edward*, who, immediately, on a different Pretence, ſummoned *Aimery* to *London*. Here, He taxed him with the Crime, but promiſed him a Pardon, on the Condition that He ſhould implicitly follow his Directions, and become the Inſtrument of deceiving his Employers, by facilitating, in the ſame Moment the deſigns of *Edward*. The Governor now twice a Traitor, conſented, and returned to *Calais*. On the thirty-firſt of *December* (*b*), and near to Midnight, (the Time appointed,) *De Charny*

(*a*) Brady's Append. V. 3. No. 29. L. 1. c. 37.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, folio. V. 1. p. 55.

(*b*) 1348.

ny, according to agreement, marched ſecretly at the Head of a choſen Party, to the Gate, where, paying the ſtipulated Sum, He was admitted by *Aimery*, who informed them that all was ready. On a ſudden, the Garriſon of the City ruſhed forward, and attacked his Troops. *De Charney*, ſurpriſed, but not diſmayed, returned the Charge. A Knight belonging to his Train, and named *Euſtace de Ribaumont*, diſtinguiſhed Himſelf, on this Occaſion, by ſome extraordinary Feats of Valour. He had been engaged, for a conſiderable Time, in ſingle Combat with One who, in Appearance, was a private Soldier, under the Standard of Sir *Walter de Mannie*; Twice had He brought this *Engliſhman* to the Ground; but being at length thrown by Him, he was obliged to deliver up his Sword, and yield Himſelf a Priſoner. He was ſoon afterwards conducted, together with *De Charney*, and other *French* Officers, into the Hall of the Caſtle, where They were magnificently entertained at Supper. When the Repaſt was over, a Perſon advanced towards *Ribaumont*, and ſaid "*Sir Knight! Behold a Soldier who is proud to bear* "*Teſtimony to your Valour, and acknowledges that in con-* "*tending with You for the Victory, He was twice in Dan-* "*ger. It is perhaps, to good Fortune that I am indebted* "*for the Glory of having triumphed over ſo illuſtrious a* "*Warrior. You are free. In Return, I ſolicit your* "*Eſteem, and Friendſhip. As a Token that You are* "*poſſeſſed of mine, Receive this Gift; I know you to be gay,* "*and amorous, and, therefore wiſh you ſhould acquaint the* "*Ladies that it was beſtowed on You, by* Edward, *the So-* "*vereign of* England." As He revealed himſelf, He unbound a String of valuable Pearls from his own Head, and threw it over that of *Ribaumont*. The King had arrived unſuſpected, the Night before, at *Calais*, from *Dover*, attended by the Prince of *Wales*, and

and Sir *Walter de Mannie*, with three Hundred Men at Arms, and ſix Hundred Archers (*c*).

In the *November* of the Year one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Forty-nine, a *Spaniſh* Squadron ſailed up the *Garonne*, and in Violation of the Peace, at that Time ſubſiſting, ſeized on ſeveral *Engliſh* Ships, within the Harbour of *Bourdeaux*, freighted with Wine, and after having inhumanly murdered the Mariners, returned Homeward with their *Prizes*. *Edward*, meditating a ſevere Revenge, gave Orders for the immediate Equipment of fifty Sail of Ship, with which, attended by the Prince of *Wales*, the Earls of *Lancaſter*, *Northampton*, *Warwick*, *Saliſbury*, *Huntingdon*, *Arundel*, and *Glouceſter*, together with ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction, He proceeded to intercept the *Spaniſh* Fleet, near the Port of *Sluys*. The Enemy appeared in Sight ſooner than was expected, and ſtood towards the Coaſt of *Suſſex*. The *Engliſh* bore reſolutely down upon them, and the Signal was directly given for the Attack. The *Spaniards*, whoſe Fleet conſiſted of Forty-four large Carracks, defended themſelves to the laſt Extremity, and obſtinately preferring Death to Bondage, rejected with Diſdain the Quarter that was offered them. Twenty-four of their great Ships, laden with Cloth, and other valuable Merchandize, were taken (*d*), and brought into the *Engliſh* Harbours: The Reſt, availing themſelves of the Dark, eſcaped with Difficulty. To perpetuate the Memory of this Victory, *Edward* cauſed Him-

(*c*) Mezeray, V. 3. p. 31.—P. Daniel, V. 4. p. 175.—Contin. Nic. Trivet. et Adam Murimuth. Annal. V. 2. p. 101.—Froiſſart, V. 1. c. 140, 141, 142.—Robert de Aveſbury, p. 181, 182, 183.—Hiſtoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edouard 3. par M. Gaillard, V. 1. p. 340, 341, 342, 343, 344.

(*d*) Auguſt 29, 1350.

Himſelf to be repreſented on a gold Coin, ſtanding, with a drawn Sword, in the Midſt of a Ship, deeming it an Honour to have his Name tranſmitted to Poſterity, as the AVENGER OF MERCHANTS (*e*).

We have already followed *Edward*, at once a Naval, and Military Hero, from Sea, to Land. On either Element, the victorious Succeſſes of his Reign are ſplendidly conſpicuous. Regarding him as an *Engliſh* Admiral, a Title acquired by his Engagements with the *French*, and *Spaniards*, on the Ocean, it might, perhaps be proper to attend him always to his Battles, on the Shore. But the Triumphs of his Armies, under his own Command, and that of the gallant Prince, his Son, are too numerous to be included within the Limits of our Hiſtory. It is ſufficient that the memorable Action at *Crecy*, and the no leſs remarkable Siege of *Calais* have been circumſtantially related. Even with *Poictiers* in our View, We muſt ceaſe, howſoever reluctantly, to wander at a Diſtance from our Subject.

Yet, in Order to ſupport the neceſſary Connection of Events, it muſt be obſerved that on the Demiſe of *Philip de Valois*, in *Auguſt* of the Year one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Fifty, his Son *John* ſucceeded to the Crown, and, at the Commencement of his Reign, by inveſting the *Dauphin* with the Dukedom of *Aquitaine*, incurred the Reſentment of *Edward*, who adjudged this Dignity, together with the Territory, to the Prince of *Wales*, and ſent Him, at the Head of a choſen body of Veterans, to aſſert his Title. On the nineteenth of *September*, in the Year one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Fifty-ſix, He gained the celebrated Victory,

(*e*) Contin. Nic. Trivet. et Adam Murimuth. Annal. V. 2. p. 102.—Robert de Aveſbury, p. 184, 185.—T. Walſingham, p. 169.—H. Knyghton, p. 2602.—Fabian, p. 228. —Matth. Villani. L. 1. chap. 99.

tory, at *Poictiers*, taking Priſoners the King of *France*, his Youngeſt Son *Philip*, and the Chief of the Nobility. With Theſe, He ſoon afterwards, landed, in Triumph, at *Plymouth*, from whence, He proceeded to *London*, where *Henry Picard*, the Lord-Mayor, and his Fellow-Citizens, teſtified their Reſpect for Him, by ſoliciting to be honoured with his Preſence, at a Dinner. What is remarkable, He came accompanied by four Sovereigns: the Kings of *England*, *France*, *Scotland*, and *Cyprus* (*f*).

In the Year one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Fifty-nine, the Truce expired, when *Edward* prepared for the Continuance of the War. He levied an Army amounting to an Hundred Thouſand Men, and fitted out a Fleet of eleven Hundred Sail, with which, attended by the Prince of *Wales*, *Henry*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, and moſt of the Nobles, He croſſed the Seas, to *Calais*. With theſe Forces the King ravaged a great Part of *France*, proceeding to the Gates of *Paris*. Here, He was induced to conclude a Treaty, which, on the eighth of *May* following, was ſucceeded by the Peace of *Bretigny*. *Edward* returned immediately afterwards to *Calais*, and embarking for *England*, landed on the eighteenth of the ſame Month, at *Rye*. By a Clauſe in the Treaty, it had been ſtipulated that the King of *France* ſhould be ſet at Liberty; wherefore a Fleet was equipped, which in *July* eſcorted that Monarch to *Calais*. He was accompanied by the Prince of *Wales*, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction. *Edward* followed in the ſecond Squadron, and

(*f*) Continuat. Nic. Trivet. et Adam Murimuth. Annal. V. 2. p. 107.—Robert de Aveſbury, p. 210.—252.—Anonym. Hiſt. Edward 3. c. 56.—T. Walſingham, p. 172.—Froiſſart, c. 164.—Paul Æmyle, p. 540.—Dupleix, V. 2. p. 504.

and having ſolemnized the Peace on the twenty fourth of *October*, returned ſoon afterwards to *England* (*g*).

In the Year one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Sixty-four, *John*, King of *France* paid a viſit to *Edward*, in Order to concert with Him the proper Meaſures for the Execution of ſome particular Terms of the Peace (*h*). He was lodged in the *Savoy*, where He fell ſick, and died on the eighth of *April*. His Son, *Charles* the fifth, ſurnamed the Wiſe, ſucceeded to the Crown, and ſoon reſolved to violate a Treaty ſo detrimental to the Intereſts of his Kingdom (*i*). The War did not, however, break out until the Year one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Sixty-nine. When *Edward* received Advice that it had been formally declared againſt Him, the *Parliament* of *England* was aſſembled, and acquainted that their Sovereign would inſtantly reſume the Proſecution of his Claim to the Dominions of *Charles*. Being anſwered that they were ready to ſupport his Pretenſions with their Lives, and Fortunes, He gave Orders for the Equipment of a formidable Squadron, on board of which the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, accompanied by a numerous Army, embarked for *Calais*, and ſoon afterwards made a Deſcent on the adjoining Coaſt. At this Period, *John* had collected together a prodigious Fleet, and was on the Point of giving Orders that it ſhould ſail, with a powerful military Force to invade *England*, when He heard that the

(*g*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. p. 229.—Cont. Nic. Trivet. et Adam Murimuth. Annal. p. 113.—Mezeray, V. 3. p. 59—P. Daniel, V. 5. p. 81.—Froiſſart, c. 213.—T. Walſinghami. Ypodigma Neuſtriæ. p. 524—Fabian, p. 243.

(*h*) Froiſſard, L. 1. c. 214.—Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo, V. 2. p. 471.

(*i*) Paul Æmyle, p. 548, 549.—Gaguin. Hiſt. p. 155. 156.—Dupleix, V. 2. p. 536.

the Troops of *Edward* had juſt landed in his Kingdom, and were on their March to give Him Battle. So terrifying an Event conſtrained Him to relinquiſh his Deſign, and draw together the whole Body of his Army, the more effectually to repel the Incurſions of the Enemy. Whilſt the Earl of *Warwick* was employed in the Military Operations on the Land, the Duke of *Lancaſter* ſtood out to Sea, and advanced with his Squadron, towards *Harfleur*, intending to burn the whole *French* Fleet, then lying at Anchor, in the Port; But the Vigilance of the Count de *Saint Pol* prevented the Execution of his Project (*k*).

In the Year, one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Seventy-two, the *Flemings*, in Alliance with *France*, were defeated at Sea, by the Earl of *Hereford*, who took Twenty-five of their Ships, the Crews of which were all either ſlain, or thrown overboard (*l*). The Lading of this Fleet (commanded by *John Peterſon*,) conſiſted of Salt, a valuable Commodity, brought from *Rochelle*, and carried with his Prizes, by the Earl, to *England*. *Peterſon*, and his Mariners fell a Sacrifice to their Temerity, having, firſt, attacked a Force too powerful to fail of conquering (*m*).

At this Æra, *Henry* of *Tranſtamare*, elected King of *Caſtile* in the Place of the dethroned Tyrant, *Peter*, ſurnamed *the Cruel*, entered into an offenſive, and defenſive League with *France*. By this, He was obliged to maintain a Fleet at Sea, for the Purpoſe of annoying the

(*k*) Cont. Nic. Trivet. et Adam Murimuth, Annal. V. 2. p. 123.—Anonym. Vit. Edw. 3. c. 59.---Froiſſart, c. 269. ---T. Walſingham, p. 183.---Mezeray, V. 3. p. 82, 83.--- P. Daniel, V. 5. p. 171.

(*l*) Walſingham.

(*m*) Anonym. Hiſtor. Edw. 3. c. 60.---Froiſſart, c. 292. f. 177---T. Otterbourne, p. 147.---Jacob. Meyer. Annal. Flandr. L. 13. p. 190.

the *Engliſh*, on the Coaſts of *Guienne*, and *Poictou*. A Part of this Armament, ſupported by ſeveral *French* Ships, proceeded, with a conſiderable Military Force, to lay Siege to *Rochelle*. *Edward*, informed of their Deſigns, ſent a ſtrong Squadron to the Relief of the Place, under the Command of the Earl of *Pembroke*, a Young Nobleman of approved Valour, and Fidelity. In preparing for this Enterprize, it was neceſſary to be expeditious, and, therefore, the Ships were limited to Forty, and no more Troops employed than could be immediately drawn together (*n*). The United *French*, and *Caſtilian* Fleet conſiſted of forty large Men of War, and thirteen tight Frigates, well ſupplied in all Reſpects, and commanded by four experienced Officers. Thus prepared, they cruized near the Entrance of the Port of *Rochelle*, in Order to intercept the *Engliſh* Fleet (*o*).

On the Eve of the Feſtival of Saint *John*, in the Year one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Seventy-two, the Earl of *Pembroke* arrived, with his Squadron, before *Rochelle*, when *Boccanegre*, a *Genoeſe*, and the Admiral of the *French*, and *Caſtilian* Fleets, made the Signal for the Attack. An obſtinate Engagement immediately enſued, in which the Earl of *Pembroke* loſt two Store-Ships. Night coming on, He was ſeparated from the Enemy; but in the Morning, the Battle was continued, and after having laſted during the Space of two Days, ended with the total Defeat of the *Engliſh*. They were purſued by the Victorious Squadron, almoſt as far as *Bourdeaux*, where the Earl of *Pembroke* felt the

(*n*) Contin. Nic. Trivet. et Adam Murimuth. Annal. V. 2. p. 127, 128.---T. Walſingham, p. 186---Anonym. Hiſt. Edw. 3. c. 60. p. 439.

(*o*) Paul Æmyle, p. 550, 551.---Dupleix, V. 2. p. 665.---Le Gendre, V. 3. p. 547.

the Mortification of ſeeing all his Ships, either taken, or ſunk, and was himſelf conveyed a Priſoner into *Spain*. On board of an *Engliſh* Veſſel, which went to the Bottom, were twenty Thouſand Marks, in ready Money, intended for the Payment of the Army, and the Raiſing of the neceſſary Forces for the Service of *Edward*.

It is remarked by a *French* Hiſtorian (*p*) that the *Caſtilian* Fleet conſiſted of the ſame Kind of Ships as Thoſe deſtroyed near the Harbour of *Sluys*, in the Year one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Forty. They made Uſe of *Baliſtæ*, and other Machines for the Purpoſe of throwing Bars of Iron, and large Stones, in Order to ſink the Veſſels of the Enemy. They were alſo armed with Cannon; and this Battle is, by moſt Writers, imagined to be the firſt wherein Mention is made of Artillery in our Navies (*q*).

The ingenious Author of the Lives of the Admirals (*r*) obſerves that the *French* Hiſtorians pretend that the People of *Rochelle* were not diſpleaſed at the Misfortune which alighted on the *Engliſh*: And as a Proof of this, allege that they did not engage in their Defence: The Contrary of which (He adds,) appears from thoſe Writers who give us a Liſt of the *Rochellers* who periſhed in the Fight (*s*).

With Submiſſion to his Judgment, it may be anſwered that the Liſt is no more than a Proof that a Part of the *Rochellers* were zealous in the Cauſe of *Edward*.

The

(*p*) P. Daniel Hiſtoire de la Milice de France.

(*q*) See Falconer's Univerſal Dictionary of the Marine, under the Article *Engagement*.

(*r*) Mr. Campbell, V. 1. p. 212.

(*s*) T. Walſingham. Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 529.—Wilhelmi Wyrceſter. Annales. p. 437.—T. Otterbourne, p. 147.—Froiſſart, c. 298.—Gaguin. Hiſt. p. 158.—Mezeray, V. 3. p. 87, 88.—P. Daniel, V. 5. p. 189.

The Circumſtances which follow muſt convince us that *all* the Inhabitants were not deſirous of remaining under the Government of the *Engliſh*.

Having obtained the Victory, the *Caſtilian* Fleet returned to *Rochelle*, in Order to block up the Port, and, at length, reduce this important Place under a Subjection to the *French* King. Several of the Townsmen had engaged in a ſecret Correſpondence with the Enemy, and intimated their Readineſs to deſert the *Engliſh*. In Conſequence of this Offer, the neceſſary Meaſures were immediately adjuſted, and *John Candorier*, the Mayor of *Rochelle*, undertook to withdraw the Garriſon from the Citadel. He invited Sir *Philip Manſel*, the Governor, to Dinner, after which He produced a forged Order, declaring that it came from *Edward*, and appointed an immediate Muſter of the Troops, on ſome Spot without the Citadel. *Manſel*, who could not read, was ſatisfied with the Appearance of the Seal, which He did not ſuſpect to have been counterfeited. He drew out the Troops, when the Mayor ſhut the Gates of the Citadel, and would not ſuffer them to reenter. On a Sudden, they were ſurrounded by the Enemy, and ſurrendered at Diſcretion. The Town immediately capitulated, obtaining Terms ſo advantageous, that the Exchange of Sovereigns was not conſidered as a Loſs. All former Privileges, and Liberties were confirmed, and even augmented by Charter. Their Caſtle, indeed, was razed to the Ground: But, in Return, they were allowed a Mint (*t*), and freed from the Impoſition of any Tax againſt their own

(t) Froiſſart, L. 1. c. 302.—Rapin's Hiſt. of England, 8vo. V. 3. p. 521, 522.—Hiſtoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edouard III. par M. Gaillard, V. 2. p. 210.

Conſent. The Reduction of *Rochelle* was followed by that of *Xaintonge*, and the Reſt of *Poictou*.

The *French*, encouraged by theſe Succeſſes, beſieged the ſtrong City of *Touars*, which engaged, by Capitulation, to ſurrender, on a certain Day, in Caſe *Edward*, or one of his Sons did not come to its Relief. The chief Officer employed by the *French*, on this Expedition, was Sir *John Evans*, a Deſcendant from the ancient Princes of *Wales*, and in Arms againſt the *Engliſh*, to revenge the Death of his *Father*, who had been beheaded, in purſuance of an Order from *Edward*. In his Youth, He had been a Page of Honour to *Philip de Valois*. After the Concluſion of the Peace of *Bretigny*, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who probably, only regarded Him as a Soldier of Fortune, choſe to attach Him to his Service, and entruſted Him with the Command of the Caſtle of *Beaufort*, between *Troyes*; and *Chalons*. When the *French* and *Engliſh* again proceeded to Hoſtilities, *Evans* embraced the Opportunity of gratifying his Reſentment, and delivered the Caſtle into the Hands of the King of *France*. He ſhortly afterwards equipped ſome Veſſels, at his own Expence, and made ſeveral ſucceſsful Deſcents on the Coaſts of *England*, and the *Iſle of Man*. By *Charles* the Fifth, He was ſent into *Spain*, to treat for a Naval Armament. Here, He met the *Engliſh* Admiral, the Earl of *Pembroke*, and the other Sea-Officers who had been taken Priſoners with Him, in the Fight, near *Rochelle*. They were led, in Triumph, and loaded with Irons, through the Towns of *Spain*; an Indignity which might naturally have been expected from that inhuman Nation (*u*). When *Evans* perceived them, He haughtily commanded the Earl of *Pembroke* to pay Homage to Him, as Prince of

(*u*) "Autre Courtoiſie ne ſavoient les Eſpagnols faire." Froiſſart.

of *Wales*, for the Lands which He held under Him. *Pembroke*, who had never ſeen Him, until that Moment, ſuppoſed him to be mad. *Evans* ſtill arrogantly explained to Him his Pretenſions. At length, an *Engliſh* Knight, in Company with *Pembroke*, inflamed with Rage at perceiving this Lord ſo cruelly inſulted, in Misfortunes, cried out: "*Well! Prince of Wales.*" "*Throw down thy Glove, and I will take it up*"— "*Thou*" (anſwered *Evans*,) "*art a Priſoner. It can* "*be no Honour to defy thee.*"—It hath been juſtly aſked whether it was more honourable to affront Him, and his brave Aſſociate, in Diſtreſs (*x*). This oſtentatious *Welchman* (of whoſe Character ſome Idea may be gathered from the preceding Anecdote,) was, notwithſtanding, endued with great Naval, and Military Talents. To exert theſe, in other Services, He was recalled from the Iſland of *Guernſey*, on which He had made a Deſcent, and almoſt reduced the Place (*y*). This Circumſtance is mentioned to prove that the Marine of *France* was far from being inconſiderable. It had ariſen (as ſuch Eſtabliſhments frequently muſt riſe,) during a lingering War. But the Navigation of this Kingdom had alſo extended itſelf to a great Degree. A *French* Colony was planted in *Guinea*, a Country diſcovered, about this Time, by the *Merchant-Adventurers of Dieppe*. A feeble Marine had been intirely deſtroyed during the Reign of *John*. Under *Charles* the Fifth, the Naval Power of *France* was protected, and increaſed (*z*).

(*x*) Hiſtoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edouard III. par M. Gaillard, V. 2. p. 212, 213, 214—Froiſſart. Du Tillet.

(*y*) Froiſſart. c. 305 —Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 407.

(*z*) Hiſtoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edouard III. par M. Gaillard, V. 2. p. 158.

Edward had been employed in the Equipment of a formidable Fleet, and a ſufficient Number of Tranſports, to eſcort his Army to *Calais*, but, having received Intelligence of the Terms on which the City of *Tours* had capitulated, He reſolved to ſend his Ships, and Forces to its Relief. With this View, He embarked a conſiderable Body of Troops, on board a Fleet of four Hundred Sail, and, eager to preſerve ſo important a Place, endeavoured to repair thither, attended by his three Sons, the Prince of *Wales*, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and the Earl of *Cambridge*, together with the chief Nobles. On this Occaſion, He was again unfortunate, being detained almoſt nine Weeks at Sea, by violent Storms, and contrary Winds; and, after beating about to no Purpoſe, compelled to Return to *England*, in the Beginning of *October*, in the Year One Thouſand, three Hundred, and Seventy-two. On his Landing, his Diſappointments were embittered by the affliCting News that *Tours* was abſolutely loſt, and that the *French* were become Maſters of all *Poictou* (*a*). From this Inſtance, it is apparent that notwithſtanding the utmoſt Care, and Diligence, in fitting out Fleets, and in Spite of the Courage, and Conduct of the moſt accompliſhed Commanders, Expeditions of this Kind may eaſily fail: In ſuch Caſes, the Conſequence is generally the ſame, as that which fell out, here: The People murmured at the vaſt Expence, and began to ſuggeſt, that, now, when the King grew old, Fortune had deſerted Him.

Edward, whoſe Spirit was not broken by theſe repeated Diſappointments, reſolved to try every poſſible Expe-

(*a*) Cont. Nic. Trivet. et Adam Murimuth. Annal. V. 2. p. 129.—Anonym. Hiſt. Edw. 3. c. 60.---Yet, both theſe Writers obſerve that this Expedition was for the Relief of *Rochelle*.---Froiſſart, c. 305.---Argentre Hiſt. de Bretagne. L. 7. c. 2.---Mezeray, V. 3. p. 89.

Expedient for the Recovery of what He had loſt in *France*; but being ſtricken in Years, and worn by Fatigue, He contented himſelf with ſending a formidable Fleet, and a numerous Army, under the Command of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, to *Calais* (*b*). The *French* Writers, and moſt of our Hiſtorians obſerve that the Number of the Troops amounted to thirty Thouſand Men; yet *Froiſſart*, a contemporary Author, affirms that it did not exceed thirteen Thouſand, of which three Thouſand were Men at Arms, and ten Thouſand, Archers. It is probable, that, on their Landing, they were reinforced. At the Head of this Army, the Duke of *Lancaſter* marched through the Heart of *France*, to *Bourdeaux*, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition which He met with from the Enemy, who, although determined not to riſk a Battle, improved every Occaſion of throwing Difficulties in his Progreſs (*c*). Thus far, the Expedition was equally glorious, and ſucceſsful: But in the latter End of it, the Army, overpowered by Fatigue, was conſiderably diminiſhed, and, on this Account, the Duke of *Lancaſter* gladly conſented to a Truce, which was prolonged from Time to Time, during the Life of *Edward*.

On the eighth of *June*, in the Year one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Seventy-ſix, died the Prince of *Wales*, after a lingering Illneſs, and at the Age of Forty-ſix. He was poſſeſſed of all the Virtues which dignify Humanity. With the Intrepidity, and Conduct of the Soldier, He united ſuch Generoſity, Affability, and Moderation, that it is difficult to determine whether He was moſt beloved, or dreaded by the Ene-

(*b*) A. D. 1372.

(*c*) Cont. Nic. Trivet, et Adam Murimuth. Annal. V. 2. p. 129—Froiſſart, c. 310.—T. Walſinghami. Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 529.—T. Otterbourne, p. 147.

my, whom He was ſure to vanquiſh. By the *Engliſh*, He was idolized. A whole Nation wept over his Loſs. This is the moſt unqueſtionable Teſtimony of the Rectitude of his Conduct. To the Heirs, or Poſſeſſors of Empire, it hath been ſeldom given. The Reaſon is but too obvious. They ſcarcely ever feel the ſlighteſt Inclination to deſerve it. The Parliament attended the Corpſe of this exalted Hero to *Canterbury*, in the Cathedral of which City, it was ſolemnly interred. Even the King of *France*, although relieved from a formidable Adverſary, paid a Tribute to his Merit, and aſſiſted at the Celebration of his Obſequies, in the Church of *Notre Dame*, at *Paris*.

All the Firmneſs of *Edward* was inſufficient to reſiſt this dreadful Shock. He felt it to the laſt Moment of his Life (*d*). A previous Indiſpoſition, now aggravated by Affliction, ſoon brought Him to the Grave. As He approached his End, He ſuffered the additional Mortification of being deſerted by almoſt every Courtier in his Train. His Favourite, *Alice Perrers*, left alone to the Indulgence of her boundleſs Avarice, and Ingratitude, purloined every Thing of Value which could be found, tore the Rings from his Fingers, and then withdrew. Even the Chaplains had abandoned Him, without either informing Him what little Remains of Life were left, or offering to aſſiſt Him in his Preparations for Eternity. At length, a ſingle Prieſt, who, by Chance, obſerved Him forſaken in the laſt Agonies, approached the Bed, with the charitable Deſign of comforting Him. To the pious Exhortations of this ſolitary Attendant, the dying *Edward* endeavoured to reply. But his Voice faultered, and few Words were ſufficiently articulate to be underſtood. Only the Name of *Chriſt*

(*d*) Froiſſart, L. 1. c. 312.

Chriſt was diſtinctly pronounced in the Moment that He expired. This Demiſe happened (*e*) in the Sixty-fifth Year of his Age, and the Fifty-firſt of his Reign (*f*).

Having already conſidered *Edward* in his Naval, and Military Capacity, ſo far as they appear united, We ſhall proceed to an Examination of his Commercial Character, after the Mention of ſome Inſtances of his Zeal for the Preſervation of the Sovereignty of the Sea.

In the Peace concluded between this Monarch, and *John*, King of *France*, although the Former abſolutely renounced his Title to *Normandy*, yet He expreſsly excluded all the Iſlands dependent thereupon, that He might preſerve intire his Juriſdiction on the Ocean (*g*.)

In his Commiſſions to Admirals, and inferior Officers, *Edward* frequently ſtiles himſelf Sovereign of the *Engliſh* Seas; aſſerting that He derived this Title from his Progenitors, and deducing from thence the Grounds of his Inſtructions, and of the Authority committed to them, by theſe Delegations (*h*).

The Parliaments of *Edward* alſo take Notice of this Point, in the Preamble to their Bills, obſerving that it was a Circumſtance well known to Foreign Nations, that the King of *England*, in Right of his Crown, was Sovereign of the Seas (*i*).

In the Preferring of a certain Bill to Parliament, in the Forty-ſixth Year of the Reign of *Edward*, it is obſerved that He was uſually accounted, and ſtiled, by all States, King, or Sovereign of the Seas (*k*). The

(*e*) June 21, 1377.—Rymer's Fœdera, V. 7. p. 151.

(*f*) Contin. Nic. Trivet. et Adam Murimuth. Annal. V. 2. p. 138.—T. Walſingham, p. 192.—H. Knyghton, p. 2629.—W. Wyrceſter. Annal, p. 440.

(*g*) Thom. Walſingham ad 34. Edvardi III.

(*h*) Rot. Scotiæ. 10. Ed. III. Membran. 16.

(*i*) Rot. Parl. 46. Ed. III. Num. 20.

(*k*) Ibid.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, folio, V. 1. p. 58.

Words are "*Que XX Ans paſſez, et tout diz a devant,* "*la Navie de dit Roialme eſtoit en touz Portz, et bones* "*Villes, ſur Mier, et ſur Riviers ſi noble, et ſi plentinonſe,* "*que touz les Pais tenoient, et appelloyent noſtre avant dit* "*Seignieur Le Roy de la Mier:*" "That the Navy of "the ſaid Kingdom of *England* was ever, in Ages paſt, "ſo renowned in all Ports, and Cities, on the Sea, or "on Rivers, that all Nations eſteemed, and called our "King THE SOVEREIGN OF THE SEA."

It muſt not, however, be denied that the Conduct of *Edward*, during the laſt Years of his Reign was almoſt fatal to the Naval Power of the Kingdom. If at one Time, He permitted his Subjects to cut down the Timber in the Royal Foreſts (*l*), at another, He gave a deſperate Wound to Commerce, by numerous Embargoes, and Wars as tedious as they were unjuſtifiable. On the Contrary, the King of *France* was aſſiduous in his Endeavours to augment, and ſtrengthen his Marine; and ſo great was his Succeſs, that, He proved, during the Reign of *Richard* the Second, a formidable Enemy to the *Engliſh* (*m*). *Edward*, by waging ſo long a War againſt the *French*, had not only exhauſted the State, but impoveriſhed Himſelf. To ſuch Neceſſities was He driven, that thrice He pawned his Crown. Firſt, in the ſeventeenth Year of his Reign, to the Archbiſhop of *Triers* for fifty Thouſand Florins; (*n*) Next, in the twenty-fourth Year, to Sir *John Weſenham*, his Merchant (*o*); and Laſtly, in the thirtieth Year, to the ſame Perſon, in whoſe Poſſeſſion it remained during eight

(*l*) Walſingham.—Rapin's Hiſt. of England, V. 3. 8vo. p. 452.

(*m*) Hiſtoire de la Milice Françoiſe, par P. Daniel, V. 2. p. 448.

(*n*) Rymer's Fœdera.—Pat. Pars 1. Ann. 17°. Edw. III.

(*o*) Pat. Ann. 24°. Membran 12.

eight Years, the King being unable to redeem it (*p*). All this appears in our Records, and ſhould be a Leſſon to Princes, to abate their Ardour for Foreign Expeditions, which although ſometimes honourable in Appearance, have been, in Effect, continually ruinous.

We ſhall have too much Reaſon to obſerve that, on ſome Occaſions, *Edward* threw Obſtacles in the Way of that Commerce, which, at other Times, He vigorouſly protected. It was equally impolitic in the Prince who ſhould have approved Himſelf continually the Guardian of Navigation, and Trade, to preſs Men, and Ships into the Public Service (*q*), and to erect Monopolies (*r*). In the firſt Year of *Richard*, the Second, the Parliament complains that, during the latter End of the preceding Reign, the Ships were ſuffered to rot within the Harbours, affirming, likewiſe, that one Sea-Port formerly contained more Veſſels than were then to be found in the whole Kingdom. The Cauſe of this National Misfortune was imputed to the arbitrary Seizure of Ships, by *Edward*, for the Service of his numerous Expeditions (*s*). The like Complaint had been made by the Parliament, in the forty-ſixth Year of the Reign of *Edward*, the Third. It was alſo renewed in the fifth Year of *Richard*, the Firſt (*t*).

There is extant an Order from *Edward*, the Third, to the Lord Mayor, and Sheriffs of *London*, impowering them to take up, and convert into Ships of War, all Veſſels of the Burden of forty Tons, and upwards (*u*).

Amongſt

(*p*) Clauſ. Ann. 30. Edw. III. Com. de Term. Hil. 38. Edw. III. ex parte rem. Regis.
(*q*) Cotton's Abridgment, p. 47, 79, 113.
(*r*) Ibid. p. 56, 61. 122.
(*s*) Ibid. p. 155, 164.
(*t*) Ibid. Cap. 3.
(*u*) Rymer, V. 4. p. 664.

Amongſt the Impediments to Commerce, there was not one more detrimental than the Article of *Purveyance*. It became (to uſe the Language of the Parliament) an *outrageous*, and *intolerable* Grievance, and the Source of *infinite* Damage to the People (*x*). The Parliament attempted to annul this Prerogative, by forbidding all Perſons whatſoever to take Goods, without the Conſent of the Owners; and alſo, by changing what They term the *heinous Name of Purveyors*, into that of *Buyers* (*y*). Yet ſo arbitrary were the Meaſures purſued by *Edward*, that the Evil ſoon returned, although militating againſt the Great Charter, and ſeveral Statutes of the Realm.

An enlightened Author (*z*), of whoſe Remarks I muſt again avail myſelf, obſerves that this Diſorder was in a good Meaſure derived from the State of the Public Finances, and of the Kingdom; and could therefore the leſs admit of any Remedy. The Prince frequently wanted ready Money; yet his Family muſt be ſubſiſted. He was, therefore, obliged to employ Force, and Violence, for that Purpoſe, and to give Tallies, at what Rate He pleaſed, to the Owners of the Goods which He laid hold of. The Kingdom alſo abounded ſo little in Commodities, and the interior Communication was ſo imperfect, that, had the Owners been ſtrictly protected by Law, they could eaſily have exacted any Price from the King; eſpecially in his frequent Progreſſes, when He came to diſtant, and poor Places, where the Court did not uſually reſide, and where a regular Plan for ſupplying it, could not eaſily be eſtabliſhed. Not only the King, but ſeveral great Lords inſiſted

(*x*) 36. Edw. III. &c.
(*y*) 36. Edw. III. Cap. 2.
(*z*) M. Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 2. 8vo. p. 490.

inſiſted upon this Right of Purveyance, within certain Diſtricts (*a*).

Of the Condition of the People in that Æra, and whether they were able to engage proſperouſly in Commerce, the Reader may judge from the Meaſures recurred to, during the Building of *Windſor* Caſtle. The Workmen were not employed either by Contracts, or Wages; but *Edward*, as if He had been levying an Army, aſſeſſed every County in *England*, to ſend him a certain Number of Maſons, Tilers, and Carpenters (*b*).

The Frequency of Robberies ſtill exiſted, an Obſtacle to the Progreſs of Commerce. We learn, from the ſame Hiſtorian (*c*), that the Barons, by their Confederacies with thoſe of their own Order, and by ſupporting, and defending their Retainers, in every Iniquity (*d*), were the chief Abettors of Robbers, Murderers, and Ruffians of all Kinds; and no Law could be executed againſt theſe Criminals. The Nobility were brought to give their Promiſe, in Parliament, that They would not avow, retain, or ſupport any Felon, or Breaker of the Law (*e*); yet this Engagement, which We may wonder to ſee exacted from Men of their Rank, was never regarded by them. The Commons make continual Complaints of the Multitude of Robberies, Murders, Raviſhment of Women, and other Diſorders, which, They ſay, were beoome numberleſs in every Part of the Kingdom, and which They always aſcribe to the Protection that the Criminals received

(*a*) 7. Rich. II. Cap. 8.
(*b*) Aſhmole's Hiſtory of the Garter, p. 129.
(*c*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 2. 8vo. p. 494.
(*d*) 11. Edw. III. Cap. 14.—4. Edw. III. Cap. 2.—15. Edw. III. Cap. 4.
(*e*) Cotton, p. 10.

ceived from the Great (*f*). The King of *Cyprus*, who paid a Viſit to *England*, during this Reign, was robbed, and ſtripped on the Highway, with his whole Retinue (*g*). *Edward* himſelf contributed to this Diſſolution of Law, by his Facility in granting Pardons to Felons, from the Sollicitation of the Courtiers. Laws were made to retrench this Prerogative (*h*), and Remonſtrances from the Commons were preſented againſt the Abuſe of it (*i*) : But to no Purpoſe. The gratifying of a powerful Nobleman continued ſtill to be of more Importance than the Protection of the People. The King alſo granted many Franchiſes, which interrupted the Courſe of Juſtice, and the Execution of the Laws (*k*).

In the Opinion of this elegant Inveſtigator (*l*), Commerce, and Induſtry, during the Reign of *Edward* the Third, were at a low Ebb. He adds that the bad Police of the Country alone affords a ſufficient Reaſon. The only Exports were Wool, Skins, Hydes, Leather, Butter, Tin, Lead, and ſuch unmanufactured Goods, of which Wool was by far the moſt conſiderable. *Knyghton* has aſſerted that an hundred Thouſand Sacks of Wool were annually exported, and ſold at Twenty Pounds a Sack, Money of that Age. But He is widely miſtaken both in the Quantity exported, and in the Value. In the Year one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Forty-nine, the Parliament remonſtrate that the King, by an illegal Impoſition of forty Shillings, on each Sack exported, had levied ſixty Thouſand Pounds a Year (*m*) : Which reduces the annual Exports to thirty

(*f*) Cotton, p. 51, 62, 64, 70, 160.
(*g*) Walſingham, p. 170.
(*h*) 10. Edw. III. Cap. 2.—27. Edw. III. Cap. 2.
(*i*) Cotton, p. 75.
(*k*) Ibid. p. 54.
(*l*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 2. 8vo. p. 495.
(*m*) Cotton, p. 48, 69.

thirty Thouſand Sacks. A Sack contained Twenty-ſix Stone, and each Stone Fourteen Pounds (*n*); and at a Medium, was not valued at above Five Pounds a Sack (*o*), that is Fourteen, or Fifteen Pounds of our preſent Money. *Knyghton's* Computation raiſes it to Sixty Pounds, which is near four Times the preſent Price of Wool in *England*. According to this reduced Computation, the Export of Wool, brought into the Kingdom about four Hundred, and fifty Thouſand Pounds of our preſent Money, inſtead of ſix Millions, which is an extravagant Sum. Even the former Sum is ſo high as to afford a Suſpicion of ſome Miſtake in the Computation of the Parliament, with Regard to the Number of Sacks exported. Such Miſtakes were very uſual in thoſe Ages.

It muſt be admitted that *Edward*, by patronizing the *Flemiſh* Manufacturers, encouraged, and extended the Trade of Wool, which was conſiderably increaſed by the eſtabliſhment of a Law, forbidding all Perſons whatſoever to wear any Cloth, but of *Engliſh* Fabric (*p*). The Parliament prohibited the Exportation of Woollen Goods, an impolitic Meaſure! Particularly whilſt the Exportation of unwrought Wool was ſo much ſuffered, and promoted. A Law, equally abſurd, was enacted to prevent the Exportation of Manufactured Iron (*q*).

We learn from a Record in the Exchequer, that in the Year one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Fifty-four, the Exports of *England* amounted to two Hundred, and Ninety- four Thouſand, one Hundred, and Eighty-four Pounds, ſeventeen Shillings, and two Pence.

(*n*) 32. Edw. III. Cap. 5.
(*o*) Cotton. p. 29.
(*p*) 11. Edw. III. Cap. 2, 5.—Rymer, V. 4. p. 723.—Murimuth, p. 88.
(*q*) 28. Edw. III. Cap. 5.

Pence. The imports came to thirty-eight Thouſand, nine Hundred, and Seventy Pounds, three Shillings, and Sixpence, Money of that Time. This is juſtly obſerved to have been a great Balance, conſidering that it aroſe chiefly from the Exportation of Woollen Goods, or rather of raw Wool, and other rough Materials (*r*). The Import was chiefly Linen, and fine Cloth, and ſome Wine. *England* appears to have been extremely drained, at this Time, by *Edward*'s foreign Expeditions, and foreign Subſidies, which, probably was the Reaſon why the Exports ſo much exceeded the Imports (*s*).

The Progreſs of Commerce was alſo conſiderably checked by the dreadful Plague, which in the Year one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Forty-ſix, breaking out amongſt the People of *Cathay*, in *Aſia*, ſpread through that Quarter, and then paſſed into *Greece*, *Africa*, and *Europe*, raging with great Violence in *France*, and *England*. During the Courſe of the Year, more than fifty Thouſand of the Inhabitants of *London* were ſwept away by it (*t*). After this melancholy Event, the Parliament made an ineffectual Effort to reduce the Price of Labour, and of Poultry (*u*). The daily Wages of a Reaper, in the firſt Week of Auguſt, were two Pence, or near Sixpence of our preſent Money; in the ſecond Week, they were a Third more. A Maſter Carpenter was limited, throughout the whole Year, to three Pence a Day; a Journeyman Carpenter to two Pence, Money of that Age (*x*). It is remarkable that, in

(*r*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 2. 8vo. p. 496.
(*s*) Ibid.
(*t*) Stowe's Annals, p. 246.—Brady.—Rymer's Fœdera, V. 5. p. 655, 658.
(*u*) 37. Edw. III. Cap. 3.
(*x*) 25. Edw. III. Cap. 1, 3.

in the ſame Reign, the Pay of a common Soldier, an Archer, was Sixpence a Day; which, by the Change, both in Denomination, and Value, would be equivalent to near five Shillings of our preſent Money (*y*). Soldiers were then inliſted for a very ſhort Time. They lived idle all the Reſt of the Year, and commonly all the Reſt of their Lives: One ſucceſsful Campaign, by Pay and Plunder, and the Ranſom of Priſoners, was ſuppoſed to be a ſmall Fortune to a Man; which was a great Allurement to enter into the Service (*z*).

Commodities ſeem to have riſen ſince the Conqueſt. Inſtead of being ten Times cheaper than at Preſent, they were, in the Age of *Edward* the Third, only three, or four Times cheaper. This Change appears to have taken Place, in a great Meaſure, ſince the Reign of *Edward* the Firſt. The allowance granted by *Edward* the Third, to the Earl of *Murray*, then a Priſoner in Nottingham Caſtle, is one Pound a Week; whereas the Biſhop of *Saint Andrews*, the Primate of *Scotland*, had only Sixpence a Day, allowed Him by *Edward* the Firſt (*a*).

The Staple of Wool, Woolfells, Leather, and Lead, was fixed, by Act of Parliament, in particular Towns of *England* (*b*). Afterwards, it was removed, by Law, to *Calais*. But, *Edward*, who commonly deemed his Prerogative above Law, paid little regard to theſe Statutes; and when the Parliament remonſtrated with Him, on Account of theſe Acts of Power, He plainly told them, that He would proceed in that Matter, as he thought proper (*c*). It is not eaſy to aſſign the Reaſon

(*y*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 2. 8vo. p. 497.
(*z*) Ibid.
(*a*) Ibid.
(*b*) 27. Edw. III.
(*c*) Cotton, p. 117.

ſon of this great Anxiety for fixing a Staple; unleſs, perhaps, it invited Foreigners to a Market, when they knew beforehand, that they ſhould there meet with great Choice of any particular Species of Commodity. This Policy of inviting Foreigners to *Calais* was carried ſo far, that all *Engliſh* Merchants were prohibited by Law from exporting any *Engliſh* Goods from the Staple; which was, in a Manner, the total abandoning of all foreign Navigation, except that to *Calais* (*d*). A Contrivance ſeemingly extraordinary (*e*).

The *Engliſh* Navigation was not extended as far as the *Baltic*, until the Middle of the fourteenth (*f*), nor to the *Mediterranean*, until the Middle of the fifteenth Century (*g*).

A Proof of the exceſſive Ignorance of our Anceſtors (under the Reign of *Edward*,) with regard to Geographical Points, may be collected from a Story mentioned by *Robert de Aveſbury*. In the Year one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Forty-four, when Pope *Clement* the Sixth, created *Lewis* of *Spain*, Prince of the *Fortunate Iſlands*, by which were meant the *Canaries*, then newly diſcovered, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at *Rome*, and his Retinue, were alarmed with the Idea that *Lewis* had been created King of *England*, and haſtened Home to acquaint *Edward* of this important Circumſtance. Yet, ſo inſatiable was the Rage for Learning, that the Number of Students in the Univerſity of *Oxford* alone, amounted to thirty Thouſand. It hath been ſhrewdly obſerved that the Occupation of theſe young Men was to learn very bad Latin, and ſtill worſe Logic (*h*).

The

(*d*) 27. Edw. III. Cap. 7.
(*e*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 2, p. 498.
(*f*) Anderſon's Hiſtory of Commerce, V. 1. p. 151.
(*g*) Ibid. p. 177.
(*h*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 2. p. 499.

The following Obſervations concerning the Commerce of theſe Times are taken from an inſtructive writer (*i*), and although not coincident in ſome Particulars with a reſpectable Opinion (*k*), have a Claim to our Attention.

" In the Year one Thouſand, three Hundred, and thirty-one, *Edward* granted a Protection to *John Kent*, a Cloth-Weaver, who came over from *Flanders*, in Company with ſeveral Fullers, and Dyers, who had been invited to ſettle in the Kingdom (*l*). It appears probable that the true Reaſons of theſe Encouragements were, firſt of all, to inſtruct our own People, to the utmoſt Perfection, in ſo capital an Art; and next to draw the Workmen over to *England*, that as We roſe in that Manufacture, our Neighbours might alſo gradually decline."

" As *Edward*, a martial Prince, engaged ſo frequently in War, ſucceſſive Impoſitions were levied on his Subjects; and Theſe amounted to ſuch vaſt Sums, as very clearly prove that, at the Beginning of his Reign, *England* was far richer than in the Times of Any of his Predeceſſors."

" Some Attempts have been made to Settle, by the Help of the Taxes, in this Rign, the Manner in which they were levied, and the Produce of them, the Value of our Wool: And, without Doubt, ſomething very near the Truth may be diſcovered. In the Year one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Thirty-eight, the Laity (*m*) granted *Edward* one Half of their Wool, and the Clergy nine Marks a Sack upon their beſt Wool.

(*i*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 242, &c.
(*k*) Mr. Hume.
(*l*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 4. p. 496.
(*m*) The Computations mentioned in the Text are to be found in the Hiſtorical Account of Taxes, p. 106.

We know not what Number of Sacks the King received: But it is ſaid that He ſent over ten Thouſand Sacks into *Brabant*, which produced Him four Hundred Thouſand Pounds; that is at the Rate of forty Pounds a Sack, One with Another. From this Circumſtance ſome Writers think themſelves warranted to compute the Produce of our Wool, in foreign Markets, at leaſt, at forty Pounds a Sack. By the Help of this Calculation, they eſtimate our annual Exportations at a very large Sum. We will ſhew, firſt, what this is, and then conſider whether it be right, or whether the Price ſhould not be reduced."

"When it is obſerved that We know not what Quantity of Wool the King received by that Grant, it muſt be underſtood that We know it not from the Hiſtorians who mention the Grant. But it appears from the Records, that it amounted to twenty Thouſand Sacks. By ſuch a Mode of receiving Taxes in Kind, the Sovereign became, and that to his great Profit, a Sort of Merchant. Thoſe who made the Computation to which We have alluded, compute the Exportation of Wool, that Year, at forty Thouſand Sacks, which amounts to one Million, and ſix Hundred Thouſand Pounds; and the Aid to the King comes to Half that Money, which (as well they might,) they obſerve to be amazing and prodigious. But, when a Grant was afterwards made to *Edward*, of thirty Thouſand Sacks of Wool, We find it eſtimated far lower, namely, at ſix Pounds a Sack, the very beſt; the Second Sort at five, and the worſt Sort at four Pounds a Sack; which, however, was excluſive of the King's Duty, or Cuſtom. This Computation was certainly very fair; and this Grant to *Edward*, was in the Nature of a Land-Tax, which is the Reaſon that the Produce of it was computed at the Rate of the Sale of Wool, in *England*; although

although there is no manner of Doubt, that by exporting, and ſelling it abroad, the King made much more of it. We will try, however if it be not practicable to extract ſomething more certain, out of the Facts mentioned by ancient Authors; becauſe, if it could be done, it would be very ſatisfactory."

"A certain Writer has preſerved the State, or Balance of the *Engliſh* Trade, as found upon Record in the Exchequer, in the twenty-eighth Year of the Reign of *Edward* the Third. Its Authenticity ſeems unqueſtionable (*n*). In this, the Export of our Wool is ſet down

(*n*) "This Account was publiſhed in a Treatiſe intitled the Circle of Commerce, (p. 119, 120.) and printed in the Year one Thouſand, Six Hundred, and Thirty-three. After drawing from it the Remarks mentioned in the Text, I thought it would be more convenient to the Reader; and, at the ſame Time, elucidate my Obſervations, if a Place were allowed to this curious Paper, in the Notes."

"The Balance of the *Engliſh* Trade, in the Twenty-eighth Year of the Reign of *Edward* the Third, as ſaid to be found upon Record in the Exchequer."

EXPORTS.

	£.	s.	d.
Thirty-one Thouſand, ſix Hundred, and Fifty-one Sacks, and a Half of Wool, at Six Pounds Value, each, Sack, amount to	189,909	0	0
Three Thouſand, Six Hundred, and Sixty-five Fells, at Forty Shillings Value each Hundred, at Six Score, amount to - -	6,078	1	8
Whereof the Cuſtom amounts to - -	81,624	1	1
Fourteen Laſt, Seventeen Dicker, and Five Hides of Leather, after Six Pounds Value the Laſt - - -	89	5	0
Whereof the Cuſtom amounts to - -	6	17	6
Four Thouſand, Seven Hundred, and Seventy-four Cloths, and a Half; after Forty Shillings Value, the Cloth is -	9,549	0	0
Carried over	287,251	5	3

down at thirty-one Thouſand, ſix Hundred, and Fifty-one Sacks, and a Half, valued at ſix Pounds; but then, the Duty is excluded. It appears likewiſe, from this Account, that a conſiderable Quantity of Cloth, both fine, and coarſe (and of Worſted, alſo,) was exported.

We

	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	287,251	5	3
Eight Thouſand, and Sixty-one Pieces, and a Half of Worſted, after Six Shillings, and Eight Pence the Piece, amount to	6,717	18	4
Whereof the Cuſtom amounts to -	215	13	7
Exports	294,184	17	2

IMPORTS.

	£.	s.	d.
One Thouſand, Eight Hundred, and Thirty-two Cloths, after Six Pounds Value, the Cloth - - -	10,992	0	0
Whereof the Cuſtom amounts to -	91	12	0
Three Hundred, Ninety-ſeven Quintals, and three Quarters of Wax after the Value of Forty Shillings, the Hundred, or Quintal	759	10	0
Whereof the Cuſtom is - -	19	17	0
One Thouſand, Eight Hundred, and Twenty-nine Tons, and a Half of Wine, after Forty Shillings Value per Ton	3,659	0	0
Whereof the Cuſtom is - - -	182	0	0
Linen Cloth, Mercery, and Grocery Wares, and all other Manner of Merchandize - - -	22,943	8	10
Whereof the Cuſtom is - -	285	18	3
Imports	38.970	13	8
Balance	255,214	13	8

"N. B. The Totals do not anſwer the Particulars exactly: But at this Diſtance of Time, it is impoſſible to aim at correcting them with any Degree of Certainty."

We cannot, therefore, doubt, that when the Commons granted to *Edward*, thirty Thouſand Sacks of Wool, it was, at leaſt, as much as giving Him one Hundred, and fifty Thouſand Pounds, in Money, out of their, Pockets. But if We are inclined to know what it brought the King, We may, perhaps, find the Means of diſcovering it. In the laſt Year of his Reign, the Citizens of *York*, complained that a *German* Lord had ſeized thirty-ſix Scruples of their Wool, which they valued at one Thouſand, nine Hundred Pounds, for a Debt pretended to be due from *Edward*, whom He had ſerved in the Wars. According to the foregoing Reckoning, Wool was worth, in that Country, thirteen Pounds a Sack, and ſomething more: So that the Aid granted to the King could not produce much leſs than four Hundred Thouſand Pounds, which, in that Age, was an enormous Sum. When this Complaint was made, ſome Ships belonging to the *German*, were at Anchor, and laden with Goods, within our Harbours. Theſe, the Citizens of *York* deſired might be confiſcated as a Reparation for their Loſſes."

"But We muſt not part with this Account, without drawing from it ſome other Obſervations. We find the whole Imports of that Year computed at ſomething leſs than thirty-nine Thouſand Pounds; Whereas the Exports amounted to above two Hundred, and Ninety-four Thouſand Pounds: So that the clear Balance, in Favour of this Nation, was above two Hundred, and Fifty-five Thouſand Pounds. Yet this is not all. We muſt conſider that, in this Account, there is no Mention made of Lead, and Tin; probably, becauſe the Accounts relating to them might not be brought into the Exchequer; that is, not into the Exchequer at *Weſtminſter*; which will raiſe the Account very conſiderably: Inſomuch that there ſeems good Reaſon to

believed that, the intrinſic Value of the Coin, in thoſe days being compared with Ours, the whole Balance of Trade fell very little, if at all, ſhort of nine Hundred Thouſand Pounds, as our Money is now reckoned; which is indeed, a very large Sum, and much beyond what Thoſe who had never looked into theſe Matters, could poſſibly have imagined. Yet the Probability, at leaſt, if not the Truth, of this Computation might be ſhewn in another Way; that is, from the Conſideration of the immenſe Sums that were conſumed by *Edward*, in foreign Wars, and Alliances; which it is impoſſible this Nation could ever have furniſhed, if the Balance of Trade had fallen any Thing ſhort of what it appears to be from the foregoing Computation."

"That Commerce was much the Object of the Attention of the King, and Parliament, appears fully from the many Acts, paſſed within the Compaſs of his Reign, for its Regulation. It is, indeed, true that ſeveral of theſe Laws are contradictory; that what was eſtabliſhed in one Year, was ſometimes overturned in the Next; that frequent Alterations were made in the Staple; that the Cuſtoms were ſometimes high, ſometimes low; and that the Standard of Money was twice varied. But, notwithſtanding all this, the former Aſſertion will ſtill remain unimpeached; ſince there can be Nothing clearer, than that even theſe Variations aroſe from the Regard that was paid to Commerce, and perhaps, the Alteration in the Coin was made neceſſary from the Conduct, in that Particular, of our Neighbours. We likewiſe, find that towards the latter End of the Reign of this King, there were great Frauds, and Impoſitions committed in obtaining Licenſes (o) for

(o) "An inquiſitive Reader may conſult the Hiſtory of the Reign of *Edward* the Third, written by *Barnes*: Yet the Re-

for the Exportation of Goods, and in other Reſpects; of which Complaints were made in Parliament, againſt the Lord *Latimer*, Chamberlain to the King, and *Richard Lyons*, a Merchant of *London*. They were convicted, and puniſhed."

We muſt, now, preſent the Reader with ſome Obſervations relating to the Coinage. From the following Clauſe, in the Charter-Mint granted to the Abbot of *Reading*, it appears that a Penny was the largeſt Piece coined until after the twelfth Year of the Reign of *Edward* the Third.—" *Rex dilecto ſibi* Johanni *de* Flete " *Cuſtodi Gambii noſtri* Londini. *Salutem—Cum per* " *Cartam noſtram Conceſſerimus dilectis Nobis in* Chriſto— " *Abbati, et Monachis de* Radyng, *quod Ipſi, et Suc-* " *ceſſores in Perpetuum habeant unum Monetarium, et* " *unum Cuneum, apud dictum Locum de* Radyng, *ad* " *Monetam ibidem,* viz: *tam ad Obolos, et Ferlingos,* " *quam ad Sterlingos, prout Moris eſt, fabricandam, et* " *faciendam, prout in Cartâ noſtrâ prædictâ plenius con-* " *tinetur: Vobis Mandamus quod tres Cuneos de duro, et* " *competenti Metallo, unum,* viz: *pro Sterlingis, alium* " *pro Obolis, et tertium pro Ferlingis, pro Monetâ apud* " *dictum Locum de* Radyng *faciendâ, de Impreſſione, et* " *Circumſcriptura quas dictus—Abbas vobis declarabit,* " *Sumptibus ipſius Abbatis, fieri, et fabricari Faciatis in-* " *dilatè, et eos ad Scaccarium noſtrum apud* Weſtm: " *quamprimum Poteritis, Mittatis, ita quod ſint ibidem a* " *Die* S. Martini *prox: futuro in* xv. *Dies, ad ultimum,* " *præfato Abbati ex Cauſâ prædictâ liberand:* T. J. *de* " Shardiche, *apud* Weſtm: xvii *Die Nov: Anno Regni*

 " *noſtri*

Records are fuller, and clearer. It would be of infinite Service to the Nation were the Facts which they contain, digeſted into chronological Order, and publiſhed. This would effectually refute many groſs Miſtakes, univerſally believed, and diſcloſe ſeveral new Truths."

"*noſtri* xii.°" (*p*) Whence a learned Antiquarian (*q*) infers that "it ſhould ſeem, either, that the Abbots, and other great Men were only permitted to coin ſmaller Pieces, uſeful in common Exchange, in the ſame Manner, as later Kings have been accuſtomed to grant Patents for the Making of Copper Halfpence, and Farthings; whereas the Sovereign ſtill reſerved to Himſelf the ſole Power of minting the larger Money; or, (as is obſerved above,) that there was not any greater Piece than a Penny coined, until after the twelfth Year of his Reign."

In the eighteenth Year of *Edward*, the Standard of Gold Coins was the oldeſt Standard, or Sterling of twenty-three Carats, three Grains, and a Half, fine; and half a Grain Alloy. For the ſilver Coins, the old Sterling was eleven Ounces, and two Penny-weights, fine, and eighteen Penny-weights, in Alloy. It was the ſame in the twentieth, twenty-third, twenty-ſeventh, and forty-ſixth Years of his Reign. In the eighteenth Year, every Pound Weight of Gold of this Standard was appointed to be coined into fifty *Florences*, at ſix Shillings each, which made in Tale fifteen Pounds, or into a proportionable Number of half, and quarter *Florences*. This was by Indenture between the King, and *Walter de Dunflower*, Maſter, and Worker. Theſe *Florences* were ſo called from the *Florentines*, who, in the Year one Thouſand, two Hundred, and Fifty-two, firſt minted ſuch Pieces; ſo that the *Florenus* was generally uſed all over *Europe*, for the chief gold Coin, as it is now for the beſt ſilver. *Fabian* calls the *Floren*, a Penny; the Half-*Floren*, a Halfpenny; and the Quarter,

(*p*) In Regiſt. MS. Monaſt. de Reading, olim penes T. Tanner.

(*q*) Biſhop Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, folio, p. 257.

ter, a Farthing of Gold. Theſe Words frequently occur in old Hiſtories, and Accounts, applied to ſeveral Coins, as *Reals*, *Angels*, &c. where is to be underſtood by *Denarius*, the Whole; by *Obolus*, the Half; and by *Quadrans*, the fourth Part, or Farthing.

In the eighteenth Year of *Edmund*, a Pound Weight of Gold, of old Standard, was to contain Thirty-nine Nobles, and a Half, at ſix Shillings, and Eight-Pence each; amounting in the Whole to thirteen Pounds, three Shillings, and Four-Pence in Tale; or a proportionable Number of half, and quarter Nobles; which was by Indenture between the King, and *Percival de Perche*. By this Indenture, the Trial of the Pix was eſtabliſhed. The received Opinion was that theſe were the firſt gold Coins, but it hath been lately proved that ſome were ſtricken, in the Reign of *Henry* the Third (*r*).

The Gold Coin, or Roſe-Noble of *Edward*, is ſo beautiful, and rare as to obtain a Place amongſt the fineſt Medals: On a Half-Noble of this Prince, He is repreſented crowned, and ſtanding in a Ship. With his right Hand, He graſps a Sword, and with his left, a Shield. It muſt be obſerved that from theſe famous Roſe-Nobles, every imaginary Half-Mark was afterwards called a Noble, the moſt early Uſe of the Word in that Senſe being in the *French* Kings *Parole* of Ranſom, in the thirty-fourth Year of the Reign of *Edward*. The *Florens* did not much differ from the Roſe-Nobles in Weight, and whether they differ at all in the Impreſſion, is uncertain.

In the twentieth Year of the Reign of *Edward*, the Third, a Pound Weight of Gold, of the old Standard, was

(*r*) Obſervations on the more ancient Statutes, p. 375. 2d Edit.

was to make by Tale, forty-two Nobles, at ſix Shillings, and eight Pence, each; and a Pound of Silver of the Old Sterling was to make twenty-two Shillings, and Sixpence. At this Period, *Percival de Perche* was Maſter.

In the Twenty-ſeventh Year of *Edward*, a Pound-Weight of Gold, of the ſame Sterling, was to make by Tale, Forty-five Nobles, amounting to fifteen Pounds; and a Pound Weight of Silver, of the old Sterling was to make by Tale, Seventy-five Groſſes (that is Groats) amounting to Twenty-five Shillings; or an Hundred, and Fifty Half-Groſſes, at Two-Pence, each; or three Hundred Sterlings, at a Penny, each. Then, *Henry de Briſſel* was Maſter, and Worker.

Theſe Groats (ſo called becauſe they were the greateſt Monies, at that Time in Uſe,) were firſt coined in the Reign of *Edward*. Before, the largeſt current Piece was the ſilver Penny. This King never debaſed the Purity of the Standard, although (as hath been obſerved,) He ſaw Reaſon to make it lighter. It muſt be remembered that the Shilling was imaginary, then, as the Pound is, ſtill; or rather, it was a Denomination of Money, and not a Coin.

The Penny, and Halfpenny, (called ſometimes *Mailes*,) and Farthings were like Thoſe of his Predeceſſors, but diſtinguiſhed by the Name, *Edwardus*. Thoſe of *Ireland* were Triangular.

It hath been remarked by Biſhop *Tonſtal* that the Gold of this Reign came neareſt to that of the ancient *Romans*; or, that our Roſe-Nobles made an Ounce, and were equivalent to the *Roman Aurei*, both in Weight, and Fineneſs. Six Noble-Angels alſo made an Ounce, anſwerable in all Points to the old *Roman Solidus Aureus*. In ſilver Coins, the old Sterling-Groat was equivalent to the *Roman Denarius*; the Half-

Groat

Groat to the *Quinarius*; the old Sterling-Penny to the *Seſtertius Nummus*; *Seſtertium* (in the neuter Gender) a thouſand *Seſtertii*, to five Pounds Sterling, when three Shillings, and Four-Pence went to the Ounce; but, now, to ſeven Pounds, and ten Shillings, according to Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Account, when five Shillings go to the Ounce.

Edward likewiſe, called in the clipped Money, and prohibited baſe Coin; which (in the Opinion of Mr. *Campbell*,) ſhews that what He did in altering the Weight of the Coinage, was for the Conveniency, and Benefit of his Subjects, who, by the Increaſe of their Trade, ſtood in Need both of gold Coin, and of larger Pieces of Silver,) and not with any Intention to enrich Himſelf at their Expence. The Contrary is, however, aſſerted by an ancient Hiſtorian, who charges *William Eddington*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Lord Treaſurer, with conſulting the Kings Profit more than that of the People, by adviſing Him to coin Groats which were not ſo heavy, as they ſhould have been.

Since that Æra, the Proportions between Gold, and Silver have not undergone any very conſiderable Alteration. As one Shilling was nearly equal to three of ours, an Ounce of Gold, then worth Twenty-five Shillings, was, in Fact, equal to three Pounds, and fifteen Shillings, of our Money (*s*).

On

(*s*) For the Subject of the Coinage, the Reader may conſult Rapin's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. Vol. 3. p. 532, 533, 534.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. 247, 248.—Madox's Hiſtory of the Exchequer—Nicholſon's Hiſtorical Library, folio, p. 256, 257, 258.—Statute of York, 9. Edw. III.—Stat. 18. Edw. III.—Tunſtal in Addit. ad Lib. de Arte Supputandi.—Reliq. Spelm. p. 207.—Coke's Inſtit. Pars 3. c. 31. p. 93.—Stat. 18. Edw. III. c. 6.—Stat. 25. Edw. III. c. 3. Coke's Inſtit. Pars 2. p. 1, 78.—Chaucer's

Pre-

On this Subject, which is relinquiſhed for the Preſent, the Reader may imagine that We have expatiated too freely. The Apology of a Naval Writer (*t*) muſt be ours. He thought that "ſuch Obſervations could not fail of proving acceptable, in as much as they greatly contribute to the Illuſtration of the principal Points with which this Species of Hiſtory is concerned. Naval Force, and the Sovereignty of the Sea, being the Reſult of extenſive Commerce, Whatſoever contributes to explain the Riſe, and Progreſs of That, muſt ſhew how the Former are to be kept, as well as demonſtrate in what Manner, they have been obtained."

Either in, or not long after the Cloſe of the Year one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Forty-four, the Iſland of *Madera* is recorded, in the Writings of the *Portugueſe* Hiſtorians, to have been diſcovered by an *Engliſhman*, whoſe Name was *Macham*. The Circumſtances are as follow:

This Adventurer, being enamoured with a Lady of his own Nation, contrived to ſteal her from her Parents, who oppoſed their Union. He embarked on board a Veſſel, with his Prize, and ſailed for *Spain*. A Storm aroſe, which drove him out to Sea, and, at length, forced Him into this Iſland. The Harbour is, ſtill called *Machico*. He had no ſooner ventured aſhore, attended by his fair Companion, and ſome Servants, than the Crew departed with the Ship, and arrived ſoon afterwards on the *Spaniſh* Coaſt. The Lady ſickened, and died. Her afflicted Lover raiſed, and conſecrated to

Preface to the Monk's Tale.—J. Seld. Jan. Angl. Lib. 2. p. 91, 92.—Evelyn's Numiſm. p. 85, 86.—Camden's Remains.—Chap. of Money.—Lowndes's Eſſay, p. 35.—Gloſs. D. Du Freſne in Voce *Florenus*.—Tit. of Hon. p. 219.—Gloſs. D. H. Spelm. in Voce Nobilis.

(*t*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 251.

to ſome Saint, an humble Chapel, in which he depoſited her Corſe. Having ſolemnized the Obſequies, He prepared to quit the Place; and cutting down a large Tree, hollowed, and formed it into a kind of Canoe. In this, He paſſed over, with his few Aſſociates, to the oppoſite Shore of *Africa*. Here, They were made Captives by the Natives, and ſent, as Preſents, to the King of *Caſtile*.

On this Account, there is ſome Reaſon to depend, as it hath been related by Foreigners (*u*), who can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed to entertain a Prejudice in our Favour.

The following Event is mentioned by *John Dee*, a learned Antiquarian, and Mathematician, but a credulous Enthuſiaſt (*x*). With this Character of the Man, the Reader is left to his own Conjectures. In the thirty-fourth Year of the Reign of *Edward* the Third, *Nicholas de Linna*, a Friar of *Oxford*, attended by ſeveral of his Countrymen, ſailed to the *Northern* Iſlands. Here, quitting his Aſſociates, He travelled alone, taking down in writing, an exact Deſcription of the Places which He viſited, and of their ſurrounding Seas. The Work (intituled *Inventio Fortuna*, or a Diſcovery of the *Northern Parts*, from the Latitude of fifty-four Degrees, to the Pole,) was preſented, at his Return, to the King.) The more fully to aſcertain his Diſcoveries, this Adventurer made five Voyages to the ſame Country. To give an Air of Probability to this Account, it is obſerved by *Dee*, that from the Haven of *Lynn*, (the Birth Place, and Reſidence of the Friar,) to *Iceland*, it was uſually a fortnight's Sail. He ſupports his Aſſertion by a Quotation from a Charter granted by *Edward*

(*u*) Hackluyt, V. 2. Part. 2. p. 1. from Antonio Galvano.

(*x*) Granger's Supplement to the Biographical Hiſtory of England. p. 94, 95, 96.

ward the Third, to the Town of *Blakeney*, in *Norfolk*, and exempting the Fiſhermen of that Port from attending his Service, on Account of their Trade to *Iceland* (*y*). This is, in ſome Meaſure, confirmed by the Teſtimony of *Gerard Mercator*, (a ſkilful Geographer,) who acknowledges himſelf indebted for his Deſcription of the *Northern* Countries, to a Perſon who owned that He had borrowed it from *De Linna*, whom He plainly points out, although He doth not name Him. It muſt not be denied that, on this Subject, *Leland* who expatiates much concerning the Life, and Writings of the Friar, is entirely ſilent (*z*). *Bale* who copies *Leland*, in this Particular, ſubjoins a Catalogue of the Works of *De Linna*, yet makes no mention of the *Inventio Fortuna*. This, however, will ſcarcely prove its not having been extant, ſince *Bale* obſerves that the Friar was the Author of other Performances, which He had never ſeen (*a*).

Richard the Second, a Youth of eleven Years of Age, (and the Son of *Edward*, the Black Prince,) ſucceeded to the Throne at the Demiſe of his Grandfather, and was crowned the Sixteenth of the following Month, when the Adminiſtration of the Public Affairs, devolved on his three Uncles, the Dukes of *Lancaſter*, *York*, and *Glouceſter* (*b*). The *French*, immediately availing themſelves of the Change of Government, in *England*, equipped a formidable Fleet, conſiſting partly of *Caſtilian* Ships, which, commanded by the Admiral, *John de Vienne*, a Nephew to the brave Governor of *Calais*, appeared off the Coaſts of *Suſſex*, where the Troops diſem-

(*y*) Hackluyt, V. 2. p. 121.
(*z*) Commentar. de Script. Britan. V. 1. p. 347.
(*a*) Scriptor. Britan. V. 1. p. 468.
(*b*) Contin. Nic. Trivet. et Adam Murimuth. Annal. V. 2. p. 140, 141.—Thom. Walſingham, p. 195, 196, 197.—H. Knyghton, p. 2630.

diſembarked, and reduced the Town of *Rye* to Aſhes (*c*). On the twenty-firſt of Auguſt, they made a Deſcent on the *Iſle of Wight*, plundered the Inhabitants, and razed the Houſes in moſt of the Villages. A Bribe of a Thouſand Pounds induced them to ſpare the Reſt. From Hence, paſſing along the Coaſt, they proceeded firſt to *Portſmouth*, afterwards to *Dartmouth*, and then to *Plymouth*, all of which Places they deſtroyed. Theſe Invaders were ſucceſsful in every Enterprize, except their Attack againſt *Southampton*, from whence they were driven with great Slaughter, by a ſtrong Force under the Command of *Sir John Arundel*. They, next demoliſhed the Town of *Haſtings*, and turned their Arms againſt *Winchelſea*, which was bravely defended by the Abbot of *Battel*. At *Lewes*, they obtained a Victory over the Troops, headed by the Prior; and having (although not without a conſiderable Loſs on their Side,) killed many Hundred Men, embarked and returned to *France* (*d*).

To retrieve this National Diſgrace, a powerful Squadron, under the Command of the Earl of *Buckingham*, attended by many Officers of diſtinguiſhed Valour, was ordered to proceed to Sea, and intercept the *Spaniſh* Fleet, on their Voyage to *Sluys*. The Execution of this Enterprize was prevented by violent Storms, and contrary Winds, which forced the *Engliſh* twice back into their own Ports. Here, they were obliged to remain, until it was too late to make a third Attempt (*e*).

At this Period, the Duke of *Lancaſter* obtained a Subſidy from the Parliament, on the Condition that, during

(*c*) July 29, 1377.

(*d*) Froiſſart. Chap. 327—Vita R. Ricardi II. a Monarch. de Eveſham ſcript. p. 2. 3. T. Otterbourne, p. 148.

(*e*) Contin. Nic. Trivet. et Adam Murimuth Annal. V. 2. p. 141—T. Walſingham. p. 208. 209.

during the Space of the enſuing Year, He ſhould defend the Kingdom againſt all Enemies whatſoever. How ill He executed his Truſt was evident from the Impunity with which one *Mercer*, the Commander of a ſmall Squadron of *Scotch* Privateers ſeized on, and carried off ſome Veſſels from under the Walls of *Scarborough* Caſtle. He afterwards became a more formidable Enemy, and being reinforced by a conſiderable Number of *French*, and *Spaniſh* Ships, took ſeveral Merchant-men, and, in other Reſpects, greatly interrupted the Trade of *England* (*f*).

At ſo diſgraceful an Æra, the pernicious Conſequences reſulting from the criminal Neglect of the chief Members of Adminiſtration were, in ſome meaſure, ſurmounted by the Public Virtue of a ſpirited Individual. Sir *John Philpot*, a wealthy Knight, and Lord-Mayor of *London*, fitted out, at his own Charge, a number of Frigates, with which, attended by a thouſand Men at Arms, He ſailed in Queſt of *Mercer*, whoſe whole Fleet (conſiſting of his own Veſſels, the *Spaniſh* Reinforcement of fifteen Ships, and all the Prizes taken near *Scarborough*,) He ſoon afterwards engaged, and defeated. The People applauded his Patriotiſm, and Intrepidity; but the impolitic Regents complained, in bitter Terms, of the Man who, eager to repair the National Diſgrace, had equipped a Squadron, and levied Forces, without having previouſly obtained the Permiſſion of the Government. He was ſummoned before the Council to anſwer for his Offence. Here, He ſo ably juſtified his Conduct, that his ſevere Examiner, *Hugh*, Earl of *Stafford*, incapable of ſupporting the Charge againſt him, felt the Neceſſity of agreeing to the Opinion of the other Lords, who

(*f*) Stowe. p. 281—Holingſhed. V. 2. p. 419—Speed.

who voted him their Thanks for his Reſolution, and Integrity (*g*).

Too prudent to depend on ſuch extraordinary Remedies, the Parliament provided, in ſome meaſure, for the Security of the Navy, by the Impoſition of Duties. A learned Antiquarian (*h*) obſerves that they were collected in Virtue of the Prerogative; but our Records, which ſtill exiſt, are Evidences to the Contrary. Before We treat of theſe irrefragable Proofs of the Sovereignty of the *Engliſh*, on the Ocean, it may be neceſſary to preſent the Reader with an Account of thoſe Meaſures, which were purſued by former Kings, on ſimilar Occaſions.

In the ſixteenth of *John*, (as We find it recited upon Record, in ſubſequent Reigns,) the Town of *Winchelſea* was enjoined to provide ten good, and large Ships, for the Service of the King in *Poictou* (*i*); and, at another Period, twenty Ships were demanded. The Quota of *Dunwich*, and *Ipſwich* amounted to five, Each. Other Ports contributed their Proportions, and all, at their own Expence (*k*). *Edward*, the Firſt, received from the Merchants, a Twentieth, and, afterwards, a Seventh of their Commodities (*l*): He impoſed a Cuſtom of a Noble upon every Sack of Wool (*m*), which, in the Reign of *Edward*, the Second, was doubled. We learn, alſo, that, under this Prince, the Sea-Ports

(*g*) Vita R Richardi II. p. 6—T. Walſingham. p. 211. Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 419.—Weever's Funeral Monuments. p. 64.—Stowe.

(*h*) Sir Robert Cotton's Anſwers to Reaſons for Foreign Wars, p. 46.

(*i*) Ex Joan. Everſden. Pat. An. 3. E I. M. 26.

(*k*) Rot Clauſ. An. 26. Hen. III.

(*l*) Rot. Vaſconiæ, An. 22. Ed. I. M. 8.

(*m*) Ex Hiſtoria Joan. Everſden.—Brady, under the Reign of *Edward* the Firſt.

were charged to ſet out, during the Space of Twelve Years, Ships ſupplied with Ammunition, and Proviſion, ſometimes for one, and frequently for four Months. The Number of theſe Armaments was appointed to be either more, or leſs conſiderable, as Occaſion might require (*n*). *Edward*, the Third, increaſed the Subſidy of Wool, to Forty-ſix Shillings, and four Pence, each Sack (*o*), which was ſeven Times the firſt Impoſition. The Inhabitants of the Sea Ports were, likewiſe, often, commanded to attend Him, with all their Naval Force (*p*). In the thirteenth Year of his Reign, He obliged the *Cinque Ports* to provide thirty Ships, himſelf contributing the Half of the Expence. The Out-Ports furniſhed eighty Ships, and the Traders of *London* were enjoined to equip ſome Men of War, at their own Coſt (*q*). When theſe Grievances were complained of, to the Parliament (*r*), it was anſwered that the King would not permit Things to be otherwiſe than they were before his Time (*s*), which implied that He would not ſuffer his Prerogative to be diminiſhed. By theſe Methods, He raiſed his Cuſtoms in the Port of *London*, to a thouſand Marks, *per* Month (*t*). That this Conduct was oppreſſive, is not to be denied, neither would the People have ſubmitted to it, under any other Pretence.

The Neceſſity of maintaining a Squadron at Sea, for the Security of the Coaſts was obvious to all Parties;

(*n*) Rot. Scot. An. 2. Ed. II. M. 17.—Rot. Scot. An. 12. Ed. II. M. 8.—Rot. Pat. An. 4. Ed. II. Dors. Clauſ. An. 17. Ed. II. M. 2.

(*o*) Brady's Hiſtory.—Molloy de Jure Maritimo, p. 289.

(*p*) Clauſ. An. 1. Ed. III.—Rot. Scot. Eod. An

(*q*) Rot. Scot. Ann. 13. Ed. III. M. 15.

(*r*) Rot. Scot. An. 10. Ed. III.

(*s*) Rot Alman. An. 2. Ed. III. M. 2.

(*t*) Clauſ. An. 5. Ed. III.

ties; and, therefore, leſt the Execution of arbitrary Meaſures, during the Minority of the Sovereign, ſhould be attended with dangerous Conſequences, a new Order was iſſued, equally agreeable to Juſtice, and to Reaſon, for the Impoſition of certain Duties on all Ships ſailing in the *North* Seas, or, from the Mouth of the River *Thames*, Northwards. Theſe Duties were to be levied on Merchants, and Fiſhermen, as well Foreigners, as Subjects of *England*. They ſtood rated at Sixpence *per* Ton; and the only Ships exempted from the Payment were thoſe either bound from *Flanders*, to *London*, with Merchandize, or from *London*, to *Calais*, with Wool, and Hides. Fiſhermen, and particularly ſuch as were employed in the Herring Fiſhery, paid, weekly, Sixpence, Tonnage. From other Fiſhermen, it was exacted, every three Weeks; From Perſons engaged in the Coal-Trade to *Newcaſtle*, once in three Months. Merchants ſailing to *Pruſſia*, *Norway*, or *Sweden*, were ſubject to the like Duties, in the collecting of which, ſix armed Veſſels were conſtantly employed.

The Authority by which this was carried into Execution appears from the following Title of the Record: "This is the Ordinance, and Grant, by the Advice of "the Merchants of *London*, and of other Merchants to "the *North*, by the Aſſent of all the Commons in Par"liament, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Mayor "of *London*, for the Guard, and Tuition of the Sea"Coaſts, under the Juriſdiction of the Admiral of the "*North* Seas &c. (*u*)." We ſhall repeat our Obſervation that this affords the cleareſt Proof of the Maritime Supremacy of the *Engliſh*. Had any Nation queſtioned it, the Ordinance would have been diſobeyed;

(*u*) Rot. Parliam. An. 2. Ric. 2. Part II. Art. 39. in Schedulâ.

and that no Apprehenſions were formed of a Refuſal to pay the Tax, is apparent from the ſmall Force appointed to collect it.

In the Year one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Seventy-eight, the Earls of *Arundel*, and *Saliſbury* ſailed, with a powerful Armament, to *France*. Here, their Attempts were, in general, ſo unſucceſsful, that they judged it prudent to return, and, on their Paſſage, home, were attacked by a *Spaniſh* Squadron. Part of the *Engliſh* Fleet appears not to have engaged, and *Philip*, and *Peter de Courtenay*, the Commanders of the Ships which were in the Heat of the Action, are cenſured by our Hiſtorians for their Temerity. The Intrepidity of their Conduct is not to be diſputed. *Philip*, who was much wounded, eſcaped from the Enemy. *Peter*, and ſeveral of the Crew, whoſe Fate is unknown, were taken. In this unfortunate Engagement, many Gentlemen from the Counties of *Devon*, and *Somerſet*, were ſlain (*x*). The next Expedition was ſcarcely more proſperous. The Duke of *Lancaſter* haſtened, about Midſummer, with a formidable Squadron, and a large Army, to the Relief of the Duke of *Bretagne*. Having waſted almoſt a Month, in fruitleſs, and ill-directed Attempts to take Saint *Malo*, by Aſſault, He returned ingloriouſly to *England*, on the *Weſtern* Coaſts of which, the *French* Troops, diſembarking from their Fleet, had committed the moſt violent Depredations (*y*).

In *October*, of the following Year, the King of *Navarre* ſolicited the Aſſiſtance of *Richard*, and offered to give

(*x*) Contin. Nic. Trivet. et Adam Murimuth. Annal. V. 2. p. 143.—Vita R. Ricardi II. p. 6.—Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 419.

(*y*) T. Walſingham, p. 212, 213.—Vit. R. Ricardi II. p. 7.—Contin. Nic. Trivet. et Adam Murimuth, Annal. V. 2. p. 144.

give him Poſſeſſion of *Cherburg*. A Supply of Ships, and Men was granted to Him, with which, although not eaſily, He obtained that Fortreſs, and ſurrendered it to the *Engliſh*.

In the enſuing Month, Sir *John Arundel* was ſhipwrecked on his Voyage to *Bretagne*, with a conſiderable Reinforcement. One Diviſion of his Fleet was driven on the Coaſt of *Ireland*; Another on the *Welſh* Shore; and a Third on the Borders of *Cornwall*. With Him, periſhed a Thouſand Men at Arms. A melancholy Loſs! which awakened the Regency from their Inattention, and occaſioned them to convene a Parliament. Freſh Supplies were ſent, in the following Year, to *Calais*, under the Command of the Earl of *Buckingham*, Sir *Robert Knollys*, and Sir *Hugh de Calverly*. Theſe Officers marched afterwards into *Bretagne*, and were employed by its Duke, in beſieging *Nantes*, a City which refuſed to acknowledge Him. Here, ſuch was the criminal Neglect of this Potentate, that they experienced the Want of the common Conveniences of Life, and were, at length, ſo miſerably reduced as to proceed through *France*, on their Way to *England*, not like Soldiers in Arms, but Mendicants, happy to obtain a poor Subſiſtence from the Charity of the Inhabitants. Some *French* Gallies appeared, in the Interim, off the Coaſt of *Kent* where the Troops landed, and reduced *Graveſend* to Aſhes (z).

In the Year one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Eighty-three, a different Kind of War broke out, unimportant indeed as to its Conſequences, yet not abſolutely foreign to our Subject. At this Period, Pope *Urban*, the Fourth, whoſe Title had been acknowledged

(*a*) Contin. Nic. Trivet. et Adam Murimuth. Annal. V. 2. p. 147.—150 T. Otterbourne, p. 150.—W. Wyrceſter. Annal. p. 441—Mezeray, V. 3. p. 111, 112.

at *Rome*, proclaimed a Cruſade againſt his Antagoniſt, *Clement*, the Seventh, who was received by the People of *Avignon*. The different Powers of *Europe*, eſpouſed the Cauſe of that Pontiff, from whoſe Eſtabliſhment they were in Hopes of reaping an Advantage. The *French* were attached to *Clement*; the *Engliſh* to *Urban*: This laſt Competitor, attentive to his Intereſts, and eager to try the Zeal of his Adherents, appointed *Henry de Neville*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, his General in *England*. Invincible Reſolution, and the Talents of Intrigue, united with exalted Birth, and powerful Connections, had rendered this Prelate the fit Leader of ſo arduous an Enterprize. Senſible that the *Flemings* (then riſen to oppoſe their Sovereign,) were prepoſſeſſed in Favour of the *Engliſh*, He determined to open his Military Campaigns, in that Country. Accordingly, proceeding to *Calais*, He there, aſſembled an Army conſiſting of fifty Thouſand Foot, and two Thouſand Horſe, with which He cut to Pieces a Body of twelve Thouſand Men, in the Service of the Earl of *Flanders*, and took *Dunkirk*, *Graveling*, *Bourbourg*, and *Mardike*. The Fleet was equally ſucceſsful. After having obtained theſe Victories, the Biſhop appeared with his Forces, before *Ypres*, when the King of *France* marched to attack Him, at the Head of a formidable Army. To avoid a Conteſt, to which he judged himſelf unequal, and the more ſo, as He had ſuffered by the defection of the *Flemings*, *Henry de Neville* raiſed the Siege, and even ſollicited from the Enemy a Permiſſion (which was afterwards granted,) to retire, in Conſideration of ſurrendering all the Places which He had taken. Thus, ſtripped of every Mark of Conqueſt, He ſailed with his few remaining Troops to *England* (*a*).

Con-

(*a*) Froiſſart.---Walſingham.---Knyghton.

Concerning a Naval Engagement during this Expedition, the Lord *Berners* hath given us the following Account, in his Tranſlation from *Froiſſart*.

" The *Engliſh* had ſeveral Gallies, the which were " well armed with Bowmen. The firſt began the " Fight, ſhooting their Arrows; yet they did but lit- " tle Damage; for the *Flemings* ſtooping down, were " enſhrouded by the Borders of the Veſſel, and the " Arrows flew over their Heads, while, they, keeping " carefully before the Wind, the Croſs-Bow-Men who " were on their Side, out of the Reach of the *Engliſh* " Arrows, with their Quarrels advantageouſly ſhot " forth, did great Execution. Then approached the " Earl of *Arundel*, and the Biſhop of *Norwich*, with " the large Ships, ſtrongly oppoſing the *Flemiſh* Fleet; " but they, ſpirited up by their Admiral *John Bucq*, " made a courageous Reſiſtance. The Admiral him- " ſelf was in a great Ship, ſtrongly armed with three " Cannons. which caſt forth Darts ſo long, and large, " that they cauſed dreadful Hurt, and Damage, where- " ſoever they fell: But the *Engliſh*, getting the Vic- " tory, took the Ship, and the Admiral. Mean " while, the ſmaller Ships, and Merchant-Men got to " the Shore, and ſaved themſelves by the Shallowneſs " of the Water; but all the Reſt were either taken, or " deſtroyed."

In the Year One Thouſand, three Hundred, and Eighty-four, the *French* equipped ſeveral Squadrons, for the Purpoſe of infeſting the *Coaſt*. For ſome Time, (ſo ſhamefully were the Concerns of the Navy ſacrificed, amidſt the Violence of inteſtine Tumults,) their Enterprizes were ſucceſsful; and they intercepted, and took ſeveral Veſſels, paſſing between *England* and *Flanders*. At length, the Inhabitants of *Portſmouth*, to convince their Enemies that the martial Spirit of the

Nation was not exhauſted, fitted out a Fleet, at their own Expence, and engaging the *French*, with equal Force, ſeized on every Ship, and killed all their Crews, excepting nine Perſons (*b*). So very apparent is it (to borrow the Language of a Naval Writer (*c*) that if our Affairs go wrong, this ought to be aſcribed to the Rulers, and not to the People, who are naturally jealous of our National Glory, and ever ready enough to ſacrifice, as is indeed a Duty, their Perſons, and their Properties, in its Defence.

Charles, the Sixth, King of *France*, having in the Year, one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Eighty-five, formed the Deſign of invading *England*, in Order to compel *Richard* to relinquiſh his tranſmarine Provinces, purchaſed Ships, at an immenſe Charge, from the different Allies, and, at length, drew together a Number which (according to the Account of a contemporary Writer,) amounted to Twelve Hundred, and Eighty-ſeven Sail, and might, if neceſſary, have formed a Bridge from *Calais*, to *Dover* (*d*). To oppoſe this Enterprize, the King of *England* levied a vaſt Army, and equipped a formidable Fleet. Theſe warlike Preparations were of little Conſequence. Diſputes concerning the Time and Manner of employing them, aroſe between the Dukes of *Berry*,, and *Burgundy*, Uncles to *Charles*, the Sixth. It was, at laſt, agreed that the Expedition ſhould be deferred, for that Year (*e*). This Proceeding is, by one Hiſtorian (*f*), imputed to the

(*b*) T. Walſinghami Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 535.—T. Otterbourne, p. 156, 157.—Vit. R. Ricardi II. p. 44, 45.—Dupleix, V. 2. p. 605, 606.—P. Daniel, V. 5. p. 308, 309.

(*c*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 224.

(*d*) Hiſtoire de Charles VI. A. D. 1385.

(*e*) Froiſſart, V. 3. c. 25.

(*f*) Mezeray, Abregè de l'Hiſtoire de France. V. 3. p. 129.

the Duke of *Burgundy*; by Another *g*), to the Duke of *Berry*. In the next Spring, the Attempt againſt *England* was on the Point of being renewed, yet quickly dropped in Conſequence of the Treachery of the Duke of *Bretagne*, and the Cowardice of the Admiral, *John de Vienne*. This unworthy Nephew to the intrepid Governor of *Calais* had been ſent, with a Fleet conſiſting of Sixty Ships to *Scotland*, in Order to excite, and enable the Inhabitants of that Kingdom, to make a Diverſion, in Favour of the *French*. Here, his Conduct was ignominious to the laſt Degree. Inſtead of giving Battle to the *Engliſh*, who were waſting, with Impunity, the whole Country, He ſunk the Soldier in the Lover, and ſighed away his Time, at the Feet of a Princeſs of the Royal Blood of *Scotland*. We learn from *Mezeray*, that her unpoliſhed Countrymen were Strangers to the Gallantry of the *French*, and ſo exaſperated at the Liberties aſſumed by *De Vienne*, that they compelled Him inſtantly to depart the Kingdom. On his Return, He alarmed his Sovereign by affirming that the *Engliſh* Army amounted to ten Thouſand Horſe, and a Hundred Thouſand Foot. At the ſame Time, the Conſtable of *France*, who had been appointed to the Command of the Troops, ready to embark for *England* was, for ſome ſlight Offence, thrown into Priſon, by the Duke of *Bretagne*. This Accident, joined to the Repreſentations of the puſillanimous *De Vienne* induced the Enemy to relinquiſh the Proſecution of their Deſign.

The Candour of a *French* Hiſtorian (*h*) hath induced him to acknowledge that it is difficult to determine whether the Treachery of the Duke of *Bretagne* was moſt

(*g*) P. Daniel Hiſtoire de la Milice de France, V. 2. p. 448.

(*h*) Ibid.

moſt ſerviceable to the *French*, or to the *Engliſh*, as if this Project had miſcarried, the greateſt Part of the Nobility of *France*, engaged therein, would certainly have periſhed. Several Ships belonging to this vaſt Fleet, ſailing from the Haven of *Sluys*, were driven on the *Engliſh* Coaſt, and ſeized: In the preceding Year, the Earls of *Arundel*, and *Nottingham* had attacked, and taken more than an Hundred *French*, *Spaniſh*, and *Flemiſh* Merchant-Men, together with moſt of their Convoy. Such was the Fate of theſe alarming Preparations, by the Miſcarriage of which the Naval Power of *France* became ſo violently enfeebled that, thenceforward, throughout the Reign of *Charles*, the Seventh, a Space of nearly half a Century, few of the Maritime Enterprizes conducted by this State, proved ſucceſsful; neither, during the ſubſequent Courſe of fifty Years, were they attended by any Victories of Importance (*i*).

At this Period, an united Squadron, fitted out by the Inhabitants of *Portſmouth*, and *Dartmouth*, entering into the River *Seine*, ſunk four *French* Veſſels, and took an equal Number, laden with Wine, beſides a magnificent Bark belonging to the Lord of *Cliſſon*. The Mariners of *Calais* alſo infeſted ſeveral of the Harbours of *France*, during this Year, and carried off many of their Ships (*k*).

Eager to proſecute a frivolous Claim to the Crown of *Caſtile*, the Duke of *Lancaſter* applied to *Richard*, and the Parliament, for their Aſſiſtance. Having obtained it, He began his Preparations, and levying an Army conſiſting of twenty Thouſand Soldiers, amongſt whom were two Thouſand Men at Arms, and eight Thouſand Archers, embarked with them, on board a Fleet, which

(*i*) P. Daniel.---Hiſtoire de la Milice Françoiſe, V. 2. p. 448.---Stowe.---Holingſhed.---Speed.---Brady.---Tyrrel, &c.

(*k*) Holingſhed.

which included nearly all the Naval Strength of *England*, in the Month of May, of the Year one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Eighty-ſix. The Duke took the Command of the Forces, and Sir *Thomas Piercy* acted as Admiral. On this Expedition, the Former was attended by his Wife, *Conſtantia* of *Caſtile*, and his two Daughters, *Philippa*, and *Catharine*. His firſt Enterprize was before *Breſt*, where, although with ſome Loſs, He compelled the *Duke* of *Bretagne*, at the Head of the *French* Troops, to raiſe the Siege. From Hence, having obtained Proviſions, and Recruits, He embarked and ſailed for *Corunna*; at which Port, He arrived, on the ninth of *Auguſt*, and ſafely landed the Army (*l*). He ſhortly afterwards took ſeveral Places in *Gallicia*, and, at length, reduced *Compoſtella*, where He entered into winter Quarters. Yet, amidſt theſe Succeſſes, His Troops had been diminiſhed by Sickneſs, and the Famine, which was the Conſequence of thoſe Devaſtations ſpread over the whole Country, by the Forces of *John*, King of *Caſtile*. In Proceſs of Time, the Soldiers, and alſo the Duke, who had long languiſhed under a ſevere Fever, recovered their Health, and carried on the War with freſh Vigour, and more Advantage. *John* perceiving that his Dominions were laid waſte, and that his Allies, the *French*, neglected to ſend the neceſſary Succours, judged it prudent to enter into a Negociation, which was ſoon followed by a Peace (*m*).

On the Part of the King of *Caſtile*, it was ſtipulated that He ſhould pay to the Duke of *Lancaſter*, about ſeven-

(*l*) Marianæ Hiſt. Hiſpan. Tom. II. Lib. 18. C. 10. p. 155.—M. Faria y Souſa. Lib. 4. C. 11.—T. Walſingham, p. 321, 322.—H. Knyghton, p. 2676.—Vit. R. Ricardi II. p. 70, 71.

(*m*) Feneras Hiſt. de Eſpan. p. 8.—Sect. 14.—De la Clede Hiſt. de Portugal, Tom. I. p. 336.—T. Walſingham, p. 342.—W. Wyrceſter. Annal. p. 442.

ſeventy Thouſand Pounds to reimburſe the Expences of the War; and ſettle on Him, and his Dutcheſs, an Annuity of ten Thouſand Pounds. The Eldeſt Daughter of the Duke was, at the ſame Time, married to *Henry* Prince of *Aſturias*, and the Heir of *John*; His ſecond Daughter eſpouſed the King of *Portugal*. Matters being thus adjuſted, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, with the Remains of his Army, (obſerved by a *French* Hiſtorian (*n*) to have amounted to about a ſixth Part of the Forces, which He carried abroad,) returned towards the End of the Year, one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Eighty-nine, to *England* (*o*).

The Abſence of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, with ſuch conſiderable Naval, and Military Forces, and the inteſtine Commotions by which the Reign of *Richard* was ſo miſerably diſtracted, prompted the Court of *France* to haſten the neceſſary Preparations for the Invaſion of *England*. *Charles*, the Sixth, having formed an Alliance with the *Flemings*, ordered a numerous Army, together with a powerful Fleet, to be in Readineſs at *Sluys*, and engaged all the Nobility to aſſiſt in the Enterprize. The Number of Veſſels intended to have been employed, amounted to twelve Hundred, and Eighty-ſeven, a great Part of which were Ships of War. On board of this Fleet was a Wooden Fort, (already deſcribed (*p*)), intended for the Defence of the Troops, after They had landed. It is remarked by an Hiſtorian (*q*), that if the Duke of *Berry*, Uncle to the King of *France*, had not, by unneceſſary Delays, impeded the Progreſs of an Attempt, to which, as it did

(*n*) Mezeray, Tom. III. p. 134.

(*o*) T. Walſinghami Ypodigma Neuſtriæ. p. 544.—T. Otterbourne, p. 177, 179.—Froiſſart.

(*p*) Page 49.

(*q*) Mezeray.

did not originate from Him, He was exceeding averſe, the Enemy would have found the *Engliſh* unprovided with a Military Force, and incapable of Reſiſtance. But the Duke did not repair to *Sluys*, until the fourteenth of *September*, before which Time, *Richard*, apprized of the Deſigns of *France*, was in Readineſs to oppoſe them. In October, of the ſame Year (*r*), the welcome News arrived that this formidable Fleet was ſeparated, and greatly damaged by a Storm; that many Ships foundered at Sea; that Others were loſt on the *Engliſh* Coaſt; that ſeveral had been taken by the Governor of *Calais*; and that the Reſt, although eſcaped into their own Harbours, were too diſabled to venture out again upon the Ocean (*s*).

Early in the Spring of the Year, one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Eighty ſeven, *Richard Fitz-Alan*, Earl of *Arundel*, and *Thomas de Mowbray*, Earl of *Nottingham*, Admirals of *England*, proceeded on a Cruize, during which They took an Hundred, and Sixty *French*, *Spaniſh*, and *Flemiſh* Merchantmen (*t*), laden with Wine. They ſailed afterwards to the Relief of *Breſt*; and from thence, to the Iſlands of *Rhee*, and *Oleron*, which were both plundered by the Troops. They returned to *England*, expecting to receive the Thanks of *Richard* for their Services. But this infatuated Monarch, miſguided by the Inſinuations of his abandoned Favourites, would not even vouchſafe to ſpeak to them; ſuch Impreſſions had He received from the ridiculous Suggeſtions that the Capture of theſe Ships muſt, in the End, expoſe Him to Misfortunes too afflicting to be borne. The Admirals, exaſperated at this rude Reception,

(*r*) A. D. 1386.
(*s*) Froiſſart, Liv. 3. C. 41, 53.—T. Walſingham, p. 322, 323.
(*t*) H. Knyghton, p. 2679.

ception, threw up their Commiſſion, which was immediately beſtowed on the Earl of *Northumberland* (*u*). A Truce of three Years was ſhortly afterwards concluded between the two Crowns.

Of *Arundel*, it is but Juſtice to obſerve that He never failed to chuſe the beſt, and ſtouteſt Sailors, to whom He honourably made the full Allowance: the cleareſt Proof that He deſpiſed the Practices of the other Naval Commanders, who permitted ſuch as were Strangers to the Sea-Service, to enter on board their Ships, and giving them but Half of the allotted Wages, purloined the Reſt (*x*).

The ſucceeding Circumſtances during the Reign of *Richard* are ſo ſlightly connected with the chief Subjects of our Work, that, without treſpaſſing any longer on the Reader, We ſhall inform Him that this Prince, at his Return from a diſgraceful Expedition to *Ireland* (*y*), was deſerted by his Adherents, and, at length, ſolemnly depoſed in Parliament (*z*). This Event was followed by his Murder (*a*), in the Priſon belonging to the Caſtle of *Pomfret*, where He was ſtarved to Death. It is recorded that He languiſhed, during a whole Fortnight, without the leaſt Suſtenance. Thus periſhed in the Thirty-fourth Year of his Age, and the twenty-third of his Reign (*b*), a King whoſe Conduct, although criminal to an Exceſs, was not proportioned to his Misfortunes.

In the Time of *Richard*, the Second, many Laws were enacted, relating to Trade; and it appears to have been

(*u*) Walſingham.
(*x*) Ibid.
(*y*) Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland, V. 1. Book 2. C. 6.
(*z*) September 28, 1399.
(*a*) Auguſt 15, 1400.
(*b*) T. Walſingham, p. 363.—Vit. R. Ricardi II. p. 169.—T. Otterbourne, p. 228, 229.

been a controverted Point, whether Foreign Merchants ſhould, or ſhould not, be allowed to vend their Commodities, freely in *London*, and other Corporations. The Senſe of the Legiſlature was in Favour of the Foreign Merchants; But the Clamour ſtill continued, and Parliaments were ſeldom holden without Petitions for the Redreſs of this, which was called a Grievance. It was alſo requeſted that the Staple of Wool might be removed from *Calais*, to ſome Town in *England*. On this Occaſion, *Michael de la Pole*, Earl of *Suffolk*, and Chancellor, (a Nobleman converſant in Trade, by which his Family, like many Others of Rank, at this Æra, had acquired an immenſe Eſtate,) declared publicly, and in Parliament, that the King's Subſidy on Wools, yielded a Thouſand Marks, a Year, more when the Staple was in *England*, than when it was fixed at *Calais*: a full Proof that the Exportation was greater (*c*).

The foreign Wars of this Reign were neither important, nor vigorouſly proſecuted; ſo that whatſoever Sums were levied upon the People, and in what Manner ſoever, they were diſſipated by an extravagant Prince, yet, this being limited to themſelves, and the Balance of foreign Trade continuing, and, perhaps, increaſing, the Wealth of the Nation muſt conſequently have been much augmented. To this, ſome Writers attribute the Diſturbances, during the Reign of *Richard*, in which, if there be any Truth, it muſt have been owing to the unequal Diſtribution of Property. Thus far is certain; That the Commons inveighed loudly againſt the Oppreſſions of the Lords, and of the Lawyers; Whilſt, on the other Hand, the Nobility, and Commons were much exaſperated at the Clergy whom they accuſed of Haughtineſs, and Avarice. The Church-

(*c*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 249.

Churchmen, in their Turn, alleged that the Luxury of the Age had ariſen to ſo violent a Height, that, notwithſtanding their vaſt Eſtates, the Expences of the Nobility exceeded their Income, and inclined them to form Cabals, for alienating, and dividing amongſt themſelves, the Revenues of the Church (*d*).

The Coinage underwent ſo few Alterations, during the Time of *Richard*, the Second, that our Remarks concerning it may be limited within a narrow Compaſs. In the eighteenth Year of his Reign, a Pound-Weight of Gold, of the old Standard, was to make, by Tale, Forty-five Nobles, amounting to fifteen Pounds, or a proportionable Number of Half, or Quarter-Nobles: A Pound Weight of Silver of the old Sterling was to make, by Tale, Seventy-five Groſſes, or Groats, amounting to Twenty-five Shillings, or an Hundred, and Fifty Half-Groſſes, at Two-Pence, Each, or three Hundred Sterlings, at a Penny, Each, or ſix Hundred Half-Sterlings. At this Period, *Nicholas Malakine*, a *Florentine* was Maſter, and Worker. The other Coins were the ſame as thoſe of *Edward*, the Third.

The exceſſive Prodigality of this Age had ſo viſibly increaſed the Importation of Foreign Commodities, that the Parliament judged it neceſſary to interfere. Accordingly, towards the Cloſe of the Reign of *Richard*, a Law paſſed, whereby it was provided, that every Merchant ſhould bring into the Tower of *London*, an Ounce of Foreign Gold Coin, for every Sack of Wool exported, or pay thirteen Shillings, and Four-Pence, for his Default; and alſo give Security for the Performance of this, previous to his being ſuffered to tranſport the Wool to foreign Parts. Another Law, of this Reign, permitted any Perſon to manufacture Cloth, without Reſtraint either as to Length or Breadth: A Proof

(*d*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 249.

Proof that in thoſe Days, the *Engliſh* believed it poſſible to encourage the Cloth Trade, without prohibiting the Exportation of Wool; and this, upon the plain Principle of doing Nothing that might ſink the Price of the Staple Commodity which brought in continually ſuch vaſt Supplies of Bullion; and which it is likely they knew not how to obtain, in Caſe the Exportation of Wool had been put under any ſevere Reſtriction (*e*).

We ſhall conclude this firſt Period, with

A LIST of thoſe Perſons who have, either been advanced to the Rank of LORD HIGH ADMIRAL, or enjoyed that Command, under any other Title, or Denomination, from the Acceſſion of HENRY III. to the Demiſe of RICHARD II (*f*).

8 Hen. III. *RICHARD de Lucy* is ſaid to have *Maritimam Angliæ.*

48 Hen. III. *Thomas de Moleton* was conſtituted *Capitaneus, et Cuſtos Maris, et Portuum Maritimorum.* (Captain, and Guardian of the Sea, and of the Maritime Ports.)

15 Edw. I. *William de Leyburn* is ſtiled, at the Aſſembly at *Bruges*, 8 *March* 15. *Edw.* I. 1286. *Admirallus Maris Angliæ.* (Admiral of the *Engliſh* Sea.)

22 Edw. I. *John de Botefort* (or *Botetort*) Admiral of the North, for the Coaſt of *Yarmouth*, and that Station.

A certain *Iriſh* Knight, Admiral of the Weſt, and the Parts thereof (*g*).

(*e*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p 250.

(*f*) Spelman.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, folio, V. 1. p. 131.

(*g*) See Page 179, Note (*s*).

ADMIRALS *of the*

	NORTH.	WEST.
	Viz. from *the Mouth of the River* THAMES *Northward.*	*Viz.* from *the Mouth of the River* THAMES *Weſtward.*
34 Edw. I.	*Edward Charles.*	*Gervaſe Allard.*
8 Edw. II.	*John Botetort.*	*William Cranis.*
10	*John Perbrun*, or *Perburn.*	Sir *Robert de Leiburn.*
		12 Edw. II. *John Athey.*
15	*John Perburn.*	Sir *Robert de Leiburn*, Ad. of the Weſt. Ports of *England*, *Wales* and *Ireland.*
16	*John Perburn.*	*Robert Batrail*, or *Battal*, one of the Barons of the *Cinq Ports.*
18	*John de Sturmy*, *l'Eturmy* or *Oturwin.*	*Robert Bendon.*
19	*John de Sturmy.*	*Nicholas Kyriel.* *John de Felton.*

Walſingham ſtiles theſe three the Admirals of the three Coaſts of *England*, *viz.* of *Yarmouth*, *Portſmouth*, and the *Weſt*. And here, we are to obſerve, that the *South Coaſt* is comprehended in the *Weſt*.

19	*John de Sturmy.*	*Nicholas Kyriel.*
20	*John de Sturmy.*	*Nicholas Kyriel.*
20	*John de Leyborne.*	

1 Ed.

1 Ed. III.	*John Perburn.*	*Wareſ. de Valoniis.*
		7 Edw. III. *William de Clinton.*
8	*John de Norwico.*	*Roger de Hegham*, or *Higham.*
10 Ed. III.	*Thomas Ughtred.*	*Walter de Say*, Baronet.
	John de Norwico.	
	Robert Ufford.	*William de Manton.*
	John de Roos.	
11	*Walter de Mannie*	*Bartholomew de Burgherſhe.*
12	*Thomas de Draiton*	*Peter Bardus*, or *Bard.*

We find this *Thomas* mentioned elſewhere, not as Admiral, but only as Vice-Admiral to *Walter de Mannie.*

13	*Robert de Morley*, Baron of *Hengham.*	*Robert Truſſel.*
		14 Edw. III. *Richard* the Son of *Alanus*, Earl of *Arundel.*
15	*Robert Morley.*	*William Clinton*, Earl of *Huntingdon.*
16	*William Truſſel.*	*Robert Baupel.*
17	*William Truſſel.*	*John de Monte Gomerico.*
18	*Robert de Ufford*, Earl of *Suffolk.*	*Reginald de Cobham.*
		19 Edw. III. *Richard*, the Son of *Alanus*, Earl of *Arundel.*
20	*Robert de Ufford*, Earl of *Suffolk.*	*Richard*, the Son of *Alanus*, Earl of *Arundel.*

21	Sir *John de Howard.*	Sir *John de Monte Gomerico.*
22	Sir *Walter de Mannie*, Baron, *S. Salvato.*	Sir *Reginald de Cobham.*
24	*Robert de Cauſton*	*John de Bello Campo*, (*Beauchamp*) Knt. of the Noble Order of the Garter.
25	*Robert de Morley.*	
25	*William de Bohun*, Earl of *Northampton.*	*Henry*, Duke of *Lancaſter.*
26	*William de Bohun*, Earl of *Northampton.*	*Thomas de Bello Campo*, Sen. Earl of *Warwick.*
29	*Robert de Morley*, Baron of *Hengham.*	*John de Bello Campo*, the Brother of *Thomas.*
30	*Robert de Morley.*	Sir *Guido de Brian.*
		31 Edw. III. *Sir Guido de Brian.*
33	*Robert de Morley.*	Sir *Guido de Brian.*

34 The above-mentioned *John de Bello Campo* was conſtituted High Admiral, as well of the North, as of the Weſt of *England*, on the eighteenth of *July*. At which Time, He was alſo Lord Warden of the *Cinque Ports*, Conſtable of the Tower of *London*, and of the Caſtle of *Dover*. He died on the ſecond of *December*, of the ſame Year, in Poſſeſſion of theſe Dignities.

34 Sir *Robert Herle*, Admirallus omnium Flotarum utriuſque Partis. (Admiral of all the Fleets in every Station.)

38	*Ralph Spigornel*, Admirallus utriuſque Partis. (Admiral in every Station.)	
43	Sir *Nicholas Tamworth.*	Sir *Robert Aſton.*
44	*John Nevil*, Baron of *Raby.*	Sir *Guido de Brian.*
45	*Ralph de Ferrariis.*	Sir *Robert Aſton.*
46, 47, 48	*William de Nevil.*	*Philip Courtney.*
50	*William de Ufford*, Earl of *Suffolk.*	*William de Monte acuto*, (Mountague.)
50 : 51	Sir *Mich. de la Poole*, Dom. *de Wingfield*, Brother of *Robert de Hales*, Prior of the Hoſpital of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem.*	
1 Rich. II.	*Thomas de Bello Campo*, Junior, Earl of *Warwick.*	*Richard*, the Son of *Alanus*, Earl of *Arundel*
2	*Thomas Percy*, Brother of the Earl of *Northumberland.*	Sir *Hugh Calverly.*
3 : 4	Sir *William de Elmham.*	Sir *Philip Courtney.*
5	Sir *William de Elmham.*	Sir *John Roches.*
6	Sir *Walter*, Son of Sir *Walter*, Dom. *de Woodham.*	Sir *John Roches*, or *Rupibus.*
7	*Henry Percy*, Earl of *Northumberland.*	*Edward Courtney*, Earl of *Devon.*
8	*Thomas Percy*, Brother of *Henry*, Earl of *Northumberland.*	*John Radington*, Prior of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem.*
9	Sir *Philip Darcey.*	Sir *Thomas Trivet.*
10	*Richard*, the Son of *Alanus*, Earl of *Arundel*, Admirallus Angliæ. (Admiral of *England.*)	

12 *John de Bello Monte*, Baron of *Folkington*. — *John Holland*, Earl of *Huntingdon*.

12 Sir *John de Rupibus*.

13 *John de Bello Monte*, aforesaid. — *John Holland*, aforesaid.

14 *Edward*, Earl of *Rutland*. — *John Holland*, aforesaid.

15 *Edward*, Earl of *Rutland*, and *Corcagiæ*, afterwards Duke of *Albemarle*, constituted High Admiral, as well of the North, as of the Western Parts.

21 *John Beauford*, Marquis of *Dorset*, and Earl of *Somerset*, the Son of *John de Gondavo*, Duke of *Lancaster*, Admiral of the North, and West.

22 *Thomas Percy*, Earl of *Winchester*, Brother of *Henry*, Earl of *Northumberland*, constituted Admiral of both Parts.

MEMOIRS

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

The SECOND PERIOD.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY, THE FOURTH, TO THE DEATH OF RICHARD THE THIRD.

HENRY, Duke of *Lancaſter*, ſurnamed of *Bolingbroke*, from the Place of his Birth, was crowned on the thirteenth of October, in the Year, one Thouſand, three Hundred, and Ninety-nine. The firſt Tranſactions of his Reign are immaterial to our Purpoſe. We, therefore, proceed, at once, to the Narrative of Events connected with the Subject of this Hiſtory.

Whilſt the whole Court aſſiſted at thoſe magnificent Entertainments which followed the Solemnization of the Marriage between the King of *England*, and *Joanna*, of *Navarre*, Widow of the Duke of *Bretagne*, their Feſtivity was interrupted by the News that *Valeran*, Earl of *Saint Pol*, of the Houſe of *Luxemburg*, and Brother-in-Law to the depoſed *Richard*, had appeared with a

ſmall Squadron, off the Iſle of *Wight*, when his Troops made a Deſcent, and plundered ſeveral of the Villages. At length, the Inhabitants, although not aſſiſted by any Military Force, attacked them with ſuch Reſolution, and good Conduct, that they were compelled to retire, with Precipitation, to their Ships, in which they ſailed, immediately, for *France* (*h*). The Reſentment of Saint *Pol* (who pretending to avenge the Death of *Richard*, was ſhamefully deſerted,) broke out into ridiculous Exceſſes, On his Return, his Ships lay to, near *Calais*, to the Gate of which He ſent a Party of his Men, (in the Middle of the Night,) who, according to his Inſtructions, erected a Gallows, on which they hung in Effigy, the Earl of *Somerſet*, Brother to *Henry*, and Governor of the Town. When this Invaſion, and the ſucceeding Affront were complained of to *Charles* the Sixth, He only anſwered that He was determined to maintain the Truce. The *Engliſh* ſoon afterwards ravaged the *Boulonois*, and the Country adjoining to *Calais*, under the Pretext that the Territories of the Earl of Saint *Pol* were ſituated in that Diſtrict. They, alſo, replied that they had no Intention to break the Truce (*i*).

The Inhabitants of the Dutchy of *Bretagne*, offended at the Marriage of *Joanna*, had recourſe to their Naval Armaments, with which they ſailed to *Plymouth*, and reduced the Town to Aſhes (*k*). The Weſtern Squadron under the Command of *William de Wilford*, Admiral

(*h*) February, 1403.—Walſingham.—Act. Pub. V. 8. p. 342.

(*i*) Holingſhed.—Monſtrelet.—Walſingham.—Hiſtoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edouard III. V. 3. p. 15.

(*k*) A. D. 1403.---T. Walſingham, p. 367, 369.---W. Wyrceſter, Annal. p. 452.---Chron. Godſtovian, p. 131, 132.

miral of the narrow Seas, was ordered to purſue the Enemy. In the Battle which followed, forty Ships were taken, freighted with Wine, Oil, Soap, and Iron. *De Wilford* proceeded afterwards to the different Harbours of *Bretagne*, in which He deſtroyed the like Number of Veſſels; Then, landing the Troops at *Penmarc*, and Saint *Matthew*, He plundered the Villages, and ravaged the Country, to a vaſt Extent. Having completed his Conqueſts, He returned, laden with Spoils, *to England* (*l*).

In the mean Time, the Lord *de Caſtel*, Admiral of *Bretagne*, not diſcouraged by the Succeſs of his Adverſaries, made an ineffectual Attempt, to land the Troops, on the Iſle of *Wight*. From Hence, He ſailed towards the Coaſts of *Devonſhire*, where, ſafely diſembarking, He, with his Forces, marched to the Attack of *Dartmouth*. Here, He was encountered by the Militia, who gained a compleat Victory. Of the Enemy, four Hundred were ſlain, and two Hundred taken Priſoners. Amongſt the Laſt, were the Admiral, and ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction. The Squadron of *De Caſtel* ſtill hovered near the *Engliſh* Coaſt, and aſſiſted by the *Flemings*, took ſeveral Ships, all the Crews of which, they inhumanly executed, in Teſtimony of that implacable Hatred which they bore againſt the Subjects of *Henry* (*m*).

In the Year, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Five, the *French*, regardleſs of the Treaty ſubſiſting between the two Crowns, invaded the Dukedom of *Guienne*, and, at the ſame Time, ſent to *Owen Glendour*, Suc-

(*l*) T. Walſinghami Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 561.—Stowe, p. 329.—Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 524.

(*m*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 8. p. 382.—T. Walſingham, p. 370.—T. Otterbourne, p. 247, 248.—Argentre, Liv. 10. Chap. 5.

Succours conſiſting of an Army of twelve Thouſand Men, and one Hundred, and Forty Ships, commanded by the Marſhal *de Montmorency*, who diſembarked at *Milford Haven*. Here, his Fleet was attacked by the Lord *Berkley*, and *Henry Pay*, Admirals of the Squadron, belonging to the *Cinque Ports*. Fourteen of the *French* Ships were taken, and fifteen deſtroyed. The Reſt, dreading the Conſequences of this Defeat, ſailed back immediately to *France* (*n*).

Meanwhile, a Fleet commanded by the Earl of *Kent*, entered the Harbour of *Sluys*, and burned four great Ships, which were lying at Anchor. They next engaged, and took, after a gallant Reſiſtance, three *Genoeſe* Merchant-Men. Proceeding along the *Norman* Coaſts, they ſearched the different Harbours; made Deſcents on ſeveral Places; reduced Thirty-five Towns to Aſhes; and then, with an immenſe Booty, returned, in Triumph, to *Rye* (*o*).

In the ſame Year, *Robert*, the Third, King of *Scots*, embarked on board a Ship, his Son, Prince *James*, with a View of ſending Him to *France*. He was taken, with the Attendants, on their Paſſage, by ſome Mariners belonging to the Port of *Cley*, in *Norfolk*, and afterwards, conducted to *Windſor*, where, although *Henry* detained Him as a Priſoner, He was treated with the Reſpect due to his exalted Rank. The *Scotch* Hiſtorians conſider this Detention, as a Breach of Faith: The *French* Writers inſtruct us better. They acknowledge that *Charles*, the Sixth had, not long before, renewed his Treaties with the King of *Scots*, for the Purpoſe of maintaining the War, againſt the

(*n*) T. Walſinghami Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 566.---Stowe, p. 333.---Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 531.

(*o*) T. Otterbourne, p. 253, 254.---Fabian, p. 382.---Hall, fol. 24.---Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 528.

the *Engliſh*. At ſuch a Juncture, the young Prince ſhould have been furniſhed with Letters of ſafe Conduct; and the rather, as He was proceeding on his Voyage to the Country of an Enemy, whoſe Fleets were perpetually committing Hoſtilities againſt the Subjects of *Henry* (*p*).

To aſſiſt the military Operations of *Glandour*, the King of *France* directed that a ſecond Fleet ſhould proceed to *Wales*. Only Thirty of their Ships reached the Place of their Deſtination. The remaining Eight were taken by the *Engliſh*; who ſoon afterwards, ſeized on fifteen *French* Veſſels laden with Wax, and Wine. A more important Service was next rendered to the State, by the intrepid *Henry Pay*, Admiral of the *Cinque Ports*, who, with his ſmall Squadron, reinforced by only fourteen Ships, attacked, and took the *Rochelle* Fleet, conſiſting of an Hundred, and Twenty Sail, valuably freighted with Iron, Salt, Oil, and Wine (*q*). A Naval Writer (*r*) (by whoſe Labours I am ſo frequently aſſiſted,) obſerves that theſe Exploits. in Veſſels belonging to Merchants, ſhew, that, beyond Contradiction, Trade, in thoſe Days, was not altogether, ſo inconſiderable an Object as, by moſt of our Modern Writers, We are taught to believe.

The Inhabitants of *London* were expoſed, in the Year, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Seven, to a terrible Plague, which ſwept away ſuch Multitudes, that *Henry*, alarmed for his ſafety, retreated with Precipitation, to *Leeds*

(*p*) T. Walſinghami Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 566.—J. Fordun. Scotichron. Continuatio. p. 1162.——J. Major de Geſtis Scotorum. Lib. 5. fol. 125, 126.—Hictor. Boeth. Hiſt. Scot. Lib. 16. p. 339.—P. Daniel, Tom. 5. p. 404, 420.

(*q*) T. Walſingham, p. 376.—Stowe, p. 334.—Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 553.

(*r*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 261.

Leeds Caſtle, in the County of *Kent*. Having paſſed the greater Part of the Summer, at this Place, He became deſirous of removing into *Eſſex*, and, for that Purpoſe, ſailed from *Queenborough*, in the Iſle of *Shepey*, with only five Ships. On his Paſſage, and within Sight of Land, He was attacked by ſome *French* Pirates, who had been waiting near the Mouth of the *Thames*, in Readineſs to execute their Deſign. After a ſharp Engagement, They took every Veſſel, excepting That which carried the King, and immediately proceeded with them, to *France*. On board of one of the Prizes was Sir *Thomas Ramſton*, the Vice-Chamberlain, and, in his Cuſtody, all the Royal Furniture, and Apparel (*s*). Thus, was *Henry* convinced, by dear Experience, of the Neceſſity of maintaining a more formidable Fleet at Sea; and, therefore, gave Orders that the Naval Armament, under the Command of the Earl of *Kent*, ſhould ſail in Queſt of theſe Adventurers. After ſeveral ſucceſsful Actions, He ſtood over to the Coaſt of *Bretagne*, and landing, with the Troops, on the little Iſland of *Briehac*, ſtormed, and took Poſſeſſion of a Town (bearing the ſame Name) into which the Enemy had fled for Refuge. Here, He put all the Inhabitants to the Sword; but, in the Skirmiſh received a Wound, which deprived him of his Life (*t*).

In the Year, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Eleven, an *Engliſh* Squadron, conſiſting of ten Sail, and commanded by Sir *Robert Umfreville*, Vice Admiral of the Fleet, proceeded to the *Firth* of *Forth*, and during fourteen Days, ravaged both Shores, burning all the Ships in the Harbours, and amongſt the Reſt, the Glory of the *Scotch* Marine, called the "*Grand Galliot*," in

(*s*) Hall, fol. 26.—Grafton, p. 431,—Stowe, p. 334.
(*t*) T. Otterbourne, p. 264.—Chron. Godſtovian, p. 134.—Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 254.—Hall, fol. 28.

in *Blackneſs*. Of theſe Prizes, fourteen were brought to *England* ſo richly laden with Corn, that the Value of that Commodity, until then extremely high, became, at once, ſo reaſonable, that the Admiral was honoured by the People, with the Appellation of *Robert Mendmarket* (*u*).

Charles, the Sixth, embraced every Opportunity, during the few tranquil Intervals of his Reign, to facilitate his Deſigns againſt the *Engliſh*. *Henry*, no leſs anxious to provide for his Security, maintained a Correſpondence with the Chiefs of the two Factions, then forming in *France*; and following the Dictates of his Intereſt, by Turns, relieved them all. In the Year, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Eleven, He ſupplied the Duke of *Burgundy* with a conſiderable Body of Auxiliaries, who afterwards attended Him, during his Triumphant Entry into *Paris*. So ſignal were their Services that the Malcontents in either Oppoſition, perceived that the Aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh* would, more than any other Expedient, incline the Balance to their Side. Accordingly, the Confederacy, under the Dukes of *Berry* and *Orleans*, diſpatched their Emiſſaries to *London*; where they concluded, with *Henry*, a Treaty, by which they allowed his Claim to the Dukedom of *Guienne*, and promiſed to ſwear Fealty to Him, for the Lands, and Caſtles which they held, therein. In Return, the King ſtrengthened their Party by a Number of Troops (*x*) which embarked, in the Month of July, in the following Year, under the Command of *Thomas*, Duke of *Clarence*, and Son of *Henry*. Our Hiſto-

(*u*) Hall, fol. 26—Stowe, p. 338.—Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 536.

(*x*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 8. p. 738.—Dupleix. Tom. II. p. 699.—P. Daniel, Tom. V. p. 500, 501.—T. Otterbourne, p. 268, 269, 270.

Hiſtorians remark that the *Engliſh* were, on this Occaſion, ſo elated with Hope, as to imagine that the Expedition would terminate in the Conqueſt of *France*. The two firſt Accounts from *Clarence* informed them of their Error. This Prince complained that when He landed with the Forces, in *Normandy*, He was coolly adviſed to return Home, as the Duke of *Orleans*, and his Confederates had concluded a Peace at *Bourges* (*y*). *Clarence* offended at his Reception, laid waſte the *Lower Normandy*, and the Province of *Anjou*. The Debt from the Duke of *Orleans* to *Henry*, in Conſideration of the Succours, amounted to three Hundred, and twenty Thouſand Crowns of Gold, which being more than the former could procure, it became neceſſary that his Brother, the Count of *Angoulême* ſhould attend *Clarence* to *England*, as an Hoſtage for the Payment of the Money (*z*).

The War againſt *France* was not ſlackened by the Peace of the Confederates; and Sir *John Pendergaſt*, Admiral of the Fleet within the narrow Seas, took ſeveral *French* Ships, laden with Proviſions. His Victories endeared him to the People, who, at a cheap Rate, purchaſed the Fruits of them. The Nobles (as uſual,) were guilty of the vileſt Arts to wound his Reputation. Of theſe, He had already experienced the ſevere Effects. Having, on a preceding Occaſion, been appointed to the Command of a Squadron, with which He cleared the Sea of all the Pirates, He expected, on his Return, to receive the Thanks to which his Services were intitled. On the Contrary, ſo powerful were the Intrigues of the Courtiers, that He was charged, although with

(*y*) July 15.

(*z*) P. Æmyle, p. 607.—Gaguin, p. 194.—Mezeray, Tom. III. p. 181.—Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 540.—Hall, fol. 31, 32.—P. Daniel, Tom. 5. p. 505.

with manifeſt Injuſtice, of having committed ſuch Depredations, as rendered him equally criminal with the Enemies whom He ſubdued. Withdrawing from his Perſecutors, He took Sanctuary, at *Weſtminſter*, and erecting a Tent within the Porch of the Church, reſided there, until *Henry*, convinced of his Innocence, reſtored him to his Rank, and entruſted Him with the Command of a Fleet, the fortunate Operations of which have been already mentioned (*a*).

This was the laſt Naval Event which occurred during the Life of *Henry*, who expired (*b*) of an Apoplexy, at *Weſtminſter*, in the Forty-ſixth Year of his Age, and the fourteenth of his Reign (*c*). On his Character, it is needleſs to expiate, as the Train of Incidents, by which We are enabled to form a Judgment of it, are not connected with our Subject.

A celebrated Hiſtorian (*d*) is of Opinion (and perhaps, juſtly,) that, as in all the preceding Reigns, ſo during this, the *Engliſh* were but little verſed in Commerce. The Jealouſy harboured againſt the *Merchant-Strangers* was carried to Lengths as impolitic, as they were violent. It was abſurdly enacted that they ſhould expend in *Engliſh* Manufactures, or Commodities, all the Money ariſing from the Sale of their Goods; that they ſhould not buy, or ſell with one another; and that all their Merchandize ſhould be diſpoſed of, in three Months after Importation (*e*). The Parliament, in a ſhort Time, became ſenſible of the Inconvenience of the laſt Clauſe, and prudently repealed it.

Soon

(*a*) T. Walſinghami Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 571.—T. Otterbourne, p. 271.—Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 530.

(*b*) March 20—1412.

(*c*) T. Walſingham, p. 382.—Chron. Godſtovian, p. 135.—W. Wyrceſter. Annales. p. 452.—Stowe, p. 342.

(*d*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 3. 8vo. p. 84.

(*e*) 4 Hen. IV. Cap. 15. and 5 Hen. IV. Cap. 9.

Soon after the Depoſition of *Richard* the Second, *Henry* was deſired by the Parliament, to reſume whatſoever had been profuſely thrown away, either during the youthful Prodigality of his Predeceſſor, or the inattentive Dotage of *Edward* the Third. In making this Requeſt, They were actuated by the laudable Motive of inducing the King to confine his Expences within his private Income, and not perpetually recur to the oppreſſive Mode of laying Impoſitions on his Subjects. This excellent Advice appears to have been loſt on *Henry*, who frequently demanded, and received conſiderable Supplies from Parliament. We find that in the eighth Year of his Reign, a Tax was ſo impoſed as to prevent the Knowledge of it, or rather, of the Manner of raiſing it, from deſcending to Poſterity. The Houſe of Commons deſired that, after the Accounts of ſuch as had received it, were examined, they ſhould be deſtroyed; that what they had, on one Occaſion, been moved to by their Zeal, might not paſs into a Precedent for ſucceeding Times. The great Exportation of Wool, upon which conſiderable Subſidies were granted, at different Periods, to *Henry*, muſt have made a very large Addition to his Revenue: In this, Reſpect, for Reaſons with which We are unacquainted, He much favoured the *Italians*, allowing them to export Wool, on the Condition of paying no higher a Duty than that levied from his own Subjects (*f*).

The Coinage of this Reign did not undergo the leaſt Alteration: But, in the Year one Thouſand, and four Hundred, the King was obliged to prohibit a kind of baſe Coin, which had gained a Currency, throughout his Dominions, to the great Prejudice of his Subjects. Theſe were brought from Abroad, chiefly on board the *Geno-*

(*f*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 284.

Genoeſe Gallies, and were, from thence, called Galley-Halfpence. In about two Years afterwards, *Henry* ordered a Coinage of new Money, but preciſely after the old Standard, as well with Reſpect to Fineneſs, as to Weight (*g*).

Henry, the Fifth, ſurnamed of *Monmouth*, the Place of his Nativity, aſcended the Throne, unmoleſted, and even loyally acknowledged by thoſe Factions who had appeared the moſt violent in their Oppoſition to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*. So firm was the Reliance which the *Engliſh* had placed on their new Sovereign, that contrary to the eſtabliſhed Cuſtom, they offered to take the Oaths of Allegiance, previous to his Coronation. This Teſtimony of their Affection was modeſtly refuſed, and *Henry* ſtill ſtrengthened his Popularity, by declaring it to be unreaſonable that his Subjects ſhould be bound for their Fidelity, until He had firſt ſolemnly ſworn to govern them with Equity, and according to the Law: a Condition with which He could the more chearfully comply, as He felt, and ſhould indulge the warmeſt Inclinations, to promote the Welfare of his People (*h*).

At this Period, the immenſe Riches, Vanity, Inſolence, and Ambition of the Clergy had exaſperated the whole Nation. To avert their Ruin, *Henry Chichely*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* endeavoured to fix all the Attention of the King, on the Proſecution of the War againſt *France*, to the Crown of which, his Rights were declared to be indiſputable (*i*). *Henry*, the Fourth, had, on his Death-Bed, intreated his Son not to permit the *Engliſh* to remain long in a State of Peace with Fo-

(*g*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 284.

(*h*) Thom. de Elmham Vita, et. Geſta Henrici Quinti Anglorum Regis, Cap. 14.---Tit. Livius in Vit. Hen. V. p. 6.---Chronicon Godſtovian, p. 136.

(*i*) Hall, fol. 35, 36.

reign Powers; as it afforded them too many Opportunities of engaging in domeſtic Broils; but, to employ them in Expeditions the moſt honourable to Himſelf, and the beſt calculated to attach to his Perſon, the Nobles who would be pleaſed to ſhare his Dangers; together with that Multitude of reſtleſs Individuals who catch ſo eagerly at Objects which promiſe a ſufficient Exerciſe of their Diſquiet (*k*).

The Situation of the *French* appeared favourable to the Deſigns of *England*. *Charles* the Sixth was frequently in a State of Madneſs. The whole Nation was divided into two Factions; the Firſt, headed by the Duke of *Burgundy*; the Second, by the Duke of *Orleans*. Two *Dauphins* had, within a ſmall Space of Time, been diſpatched by Poiſon, and the Third was not far advanced in his Minority. *Henry*, until his Project became almoſt ripe for Execution, diſguiſed his Intentions, and even liſtened to a Propoſal of Marriage, with the Princeſs *Catharine*, Daughter of the King of *France* (*l*). In the Year, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Fifteen, *Charles*, the Sixth, ſent his Ambaſſadors to *England*, where, at their final Audience (*m*), *Henry* is recorded (but on too ſlight an Authority (*n*),) to have demanded a Truce of fifty Years, when the Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, abſolutely inſiſting on a definitive Peace, put an End to the Negociations.

From this Period, both Parties prepared for War (*o*). *Henry*, intent, not on the Reduction of a few Garriſons, or the Devaſtation of a Province, but on the Conqueſt

(*k*) Stowe.—Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 3. p. 92.
(*l*) Act. Pub. V. 9. p. 150. 182, 183, 184, 186.
(*m*) July 6.
(*n*) P. Daniel. Hiſtoire de France, V. 5. p. 536.
(*o*) Mezeray, V. 3. p. 192.—Thom. de. Elmham, p. 29, 30.—Fabian, p. 390.---Hall, folio 9. b.---Grafton, p. 448, 449.

queſt of the whole Kingdom, levied an Army, amounting to at leaſt, fifty Thouſand Men, amongſt whom were ſix Thouſand Men at Arms, and Twenty-four Thouſand Archers. For the more convenient Tranſportation of Theſe, ſeveral large Veſſels were hired from *Holland*, and *Zealand*, which, with the Ships belonging to his own Subjects, rendezvouſed, in the Month of Auguſt, at *Southampton*, when the Fleet was increaſed to ſixteen Hundred Sail. With this formidable Armament, *Henry*, attended by his Brothers, the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Glouceſter*, his Uncle, the Duke of York, the Earls of *Dorſet*, *Kent*, *Cornwall*, *Saliſbury*, and *Huntingdon*, together with many other Nobles, landed without Oppoſition, at *Havre de Grace*, in *Normandy*, on the fourteenth of the Month of Auguſt (*p*).

The Conſtable *d'Albret*, by whom the *French* Army was commanded, retired, with an exceedingly ſuperior Force, at the Approach of the *Engliſh*. For this Conduct, He was afterwards tried by a Court-Martial, and acquitted; as it appeared, from his Defence, that his private Inſtructions were, not to hazard a Battle, on any Account whatſoever, but to leave the *Engliſh* to exhauſt themſelves by long Marches, and tedious Sieges. A *French* Hiſtorian (*q*) regrets that this Maxim was not as ſteadily purſued, as it was prudently inculcated. "Therefore, the Policy of *France*") concludes a Naval Writer (*r*),) "is to cheat Us, whenſoever They "make Peace; and, when We break with them, to

(*p*) Thom. de Elmham, Cap. 18.—Tit. Liv. p. 7.—Polyd. Virgil, L. 22.—Speed, p. 630.—T. Otterbourne, p. 276—W. Wyrceſter. Annal. p. 453.—Chron. Godſtovian. p. 136.—T. Walſinghami Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 582.

(*q*) Hiſtoire de France, Tom. 5. p. 538.

(*r*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 267.

"deſtroy Us by Means of a dilatory War; the which,
"although troubleſome to them, becomes ſoon inſup-
"portable to Us: And thus, their Cunning gives them
"Advantages which they never could derive from the
"Force of their Arms."

The firſt warlike Enterprize of *Henry* was directed againſt *Harfleur*, a Maritime Town, the Reduction of which was a Point of ſingular Importance. This Place, well fortified, and defended by a numerous Garriſon, was attacked from all Quarters, and after a gallant Reſiſtance, ſurrendered, for want of Succours, to the *Engliſh*. The difficulties attending the Siege, added to a Diſorder which raged throughout the Camp, and was occaſioned by the unuſual Heat of the Seaſon, had ſwept away ſuch Numbers of the Troops, that *Henry* aſſembling a Council of War, determined to leave only a ſmall Force at *Harfleur*, and proceed with the Remainder of the Army, through *Picardy*, to *Calais* (*s*). This March appeared extremely dangerous, as the *French* had not only taken the Field, but were advancing towards their Enemies. According to our Hiſtorians, the *Engliſh* Troops, amounted, in the Whole, to nine Thouſand; but the *French* Writers affirm that They conſiſted of two Thouſand Men, at Arms, and eleven Thouſand Archers. The Army of *Charles* more than trebled that of *Henry*, who anxious to prevent the Effuſion of Blood, and, perhaps, fearful of the Conſequences of a Battle, would have acceded to a Peace, on any Terms conſiſtent with his Honour. His Offers were haughtily refuſed; and the Conſtable, judging himſelf ſecure of Victory, ſent three Heralds to warn him to prepare for Battle, and chuſe

(*s*) Thom. de Elmham, C. 22. et ſeq.—Tit. Liv. p. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.—T. Walſingham, p. 391, 392.—Stowe, p. 348, 349.—Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 552.—Speed, p. 631.

chuſe immediately the Time and Place. To this *Henry* anſwered, that as They knew of his intended March to *Calais*, They might have attacked Him before; and that if They now chooſe to engage, the Appointment of Time and Place was needleſs. As for Himſelf, He had reſolved to purſue his Way, and if They ventured to interrupt Him, They ſhould find him ready to oppoſe Them (*t*)

The Situation of the *French* Army rendered it impoſſible for the *Engliſh* to paſs by, without fighting. Accordingly, They drew up in Battle-Array, on the Plains of *Agincourt*, where after engaging from ten in the Morning, until almoſt five in the Afternoon, the *Engliſh* obtained a compleat Victory (*u*). Such glorious Conſequences (to borrow the Expreſſion of a *French* Hiſtorian,) reſulted from the Bravery of their Troops, and the Prudent Conduct of their Officers (*x*).

In this Battle, than which None was ever more fatal to *France*, or honourable to *England*, ten Thouſand were ſlain, and fourteen Thouſand taken Priſoners. Amongſt the Former, were the Conſtable *D'Albret*, the Count of *Nevers*, and the Duke of *Brabant*, Brothers to the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Count of *Vaudemont*, Brother to the Duke of *Lorraine*, the Duke of *Alençon*, the Duke of *Barre*, the Count of *Marle*, and the Archbiſhop of *Sens*. Amongſt the Latter, were the Duke of *Orleans*, and *Bourbon*, the Counts *D'Eu*, *Vandome*, and *Richemont*, and the Mareſchal of *Boucicaut*. The Number of the *Engliſh* who periſhed did not exceed Forty, amongſt whom the only Perſons of

(*t*) Tit. Liv. p. 15.---Dupleix, Tom. II. p. 712.---Mezeray, Tom. III. p. 193.---P. Daniel, Tom. V. p. 540.---Speed, p. 631.

(*u*) October 25, A. D. 1415.

(*x*) P. Daniel. Hiſtoire de France, Tom. V. p. 541, 542.

Note were the Duke of *York*, and the Earl of *Oxford* (*y*).

After this Victory *Henry* continued his March to *Calais*, from whence, He paſſed over into *England*, with the Priſoners of Rank. Whilſt He was on the Seas, a violent Storm aroſe, during which ſome of his Ships were ſunk. It was with difficulty that the Veſſel in which He ſailed could reach the Harbour (*z*). He landed on the ſixteenth, and made his Entry into *London*, amidſt the Acclamations of his People, on the twenty-third of *November*, in the Year, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Fifteen.

The *French*, notwithſtanding their ill Succeſs, were indefatigable in their Preparations for the Siege of *Harfleur*. Having hired a formidable Fleet from the *Caſtilians*, and *Genoeſe*, They firſt ſailed towards *Portſmouth*, and *Southampton*, making an Attempt on the Iſle of *Wight*, in which They were beaten back, with great Loſs. At their Return, They were joined by a powerful Squadron, under the Command of the Vice Admiral *De Narbonne*, and ſurrounding the Port of *Harfleur*, cut off all Communication with it, whilſt the new Conſtable *D'Armagnac* inveſted it by Land. The Place was gallantly defended by its Governor, the Earl of *Dorſet*, who, reduced to Extremities, had determined to capitulate, when a Fleet appeared in Sight, con-

(*y*) Thom. de Elmham, C. 27, 28, 29.——Tit. Liv. p. 17, 18, 19, 20.---The Batayll of Agink Corte.---An Ancient MS. in Rhime, in the Cotton Library.---Vitellius, D. XII. Fol. 214.---Mezeray, Stowe, &c.---Saint Remi, Chap. 62. ---T. Walſingham, p. 392.---Le Laboureur, Liv. 35. Chap. 7.---Monſtrelet, Chap. 147.---Jean le Fevre, Chap. 64. p. 97, 98.---Goodwin's Life of Henry V. p. 91, 92.---P. Baud. Hiſt. de Bret. p. 451.---P. de Fenin, p. 461.

(*z*) Thom. de Elmham, Chap. 29.---Rapin's Hiſtory of England, V. 4. 8vo. p. 231.

conſiſting of four Hundred Sail, on board of which were *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, Brother to *Henry*, and a Body of Troops, amounting to twenty Thouſand Men. As it was impoſſible to throw any Succours into the Garriſon, until a Paſſage had been forced through the *French* Fleet, the Duke of *Bedford* made a Signal for engaging, when the Action became general, and laſted, with great Slaughter, during ſeveral Hours. At length, the *French* were totally defeated. Five Hundred Veſſels were either taken or ſunk; and amongſt Theſe, three of thoſe large *Carracks*, which had been furniſhed by the *Genoeſe*, who ridiculouſly imagined that the *Engliſh* would have been too terrified at their appearance, to attack Them. The Army, on the Land Side, when informed of the Deſtruction of their Fleet, decamped with Precipitation, and left the Earl of *Dorſet*, now powerfully reinforced, to continue his Devaſtations, through the Towns of *Normandy* (*a*).

It is obſerved by a *French* Hiſtorian (*b*), that the *Carracks*, which he calls *unwieldy monſters*, were not known, until this Æra. That He is miſtaken may be ſeen from the Relation of the ſame Naval Engagements, during the Time of *Edward* the Third. After telling us that They were conſtructed by the *Spaniards*, and *Genoeſe*, He vainly adds that They were of ſuch Force that the *Engliſh* durſt not appear before them. The cleareſt Refutation of this Falſity is, the Account of their Defeat; the which (as it hath been called in Queſtion,) We ſhall confirm by a remarkable Extract from a Chronicle, in the Trinity Church of *Wincheſter* (*c*).

 "Eo-

(*a*) Thom. de Elmham, Chap. 30.—Tit. Liv. p. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.—T. Walſingham, p. 394.—S. Dupleix, Tom. II. p. 719.—Mezeray, Tom. III. p. 196.—P. Daniel, Tom. V. p. 551, 552.

(*b*) P. Daniel. Hiſtoire de la Milice de France.

(*c*) Hackluyt, Part 1. p. 185.

" Eodem Anno quo Victoria potitus eſt, videlicet " Anno Domini MCCCCXV, et Regni ſui Anno " tertio, poſt Bellum de *Agincourt*, conducti a *Francis*, " venerunt cum multis Navibus recuperati *Harfletium*. " Sed Rex *Angliæ* miſit Fratrem ſuum, *Johannem*, Du- " cem *Bedfordiæ*, et *Andegaviæ*, qui pugnavit cum Eis, " et vicit, et Naves cepit, et Quaſdam ſubmerſit: " Cæteri fugerunt cum *Hiſpanis* Navibus qui venerant " cum Eis, Anno Gratiæ, MCCCCXVI. Sequenti " vero Anno redierunt Potentiores, et, iterum devicti, " perpetuam Pacem cum Rege compoſuerunt, et *prop-* " *ter Eorum Naves* fecit Rex fieri Naves quales non " erant in Mundo. De his ſic conductis a *Francis*, ita " metrice ſcribitur.

" Regum belligero trito celeberrimus Arvo
" *Gallos*, *Hiſpanos*, *Janos*, devicit, et urget,
" Vaſtat; Turbantur cætera Regna Metu.
" Navali Bello bis devicti quoque Jani."

Henry having agreed to an Interview with the Duke of *Burgundy*, at *Calais*, embarked on the fourth of *September*, in the Year, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Sixteen, from *Sandwich*, in Company with the Emperor *Sigiſmond*, who had been, during ſome Time, in *England*, and was, now, convoyed with a Squadron of forty Ships, to *Calais*. Thither, on the Firſt of *October*, came the Duke of *Burgundy*, to whom *Henry* had diſpatched a ſafe Conduct, together with his Brother, the Duke of *Glouceſter*, as an Hoſtage. On the following Day, the Treaty of Alliance againſt *France* was concluded; and the King of *England* appointed Commiſſioners to receive, in his Name, the Oaths of *John*, Duke of *Burgundy*, and of *Philip*, Earl of *Charolois*, his Son. This, however, did not prevent

Hen-

Henry from entering into a Truce with *France*, to laſt until the ſecond of the enſuing Month of February. He, afterwards, departed for *England* (*d*).

In the Year one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Seventeen, the Earl of *Huntingdon*, cruiſing with a formidable Squadron, came up with, engaged, and defeated the united Fleets of *France*, and *Genoa*. In the Force, Size, and Number of their Ships, they greatly exceeded thoſe belonging to the *Engliſh*. Amongſt the Priſoners of Rank was the Admiral de *Bourdon*. Four of the *Genoeſe* Ships taken in the Action were ſo richly freighted, that a Sum of Money was diſcovered ſufficient to pay all the Expences of the Navy, during three Months (*e*).

A Writer (*f*) who treats of the Naval Wars of the *Genoeſe*, hath been more particular in his Account of this Engagement: He obſerves that "*Fregoſe*, the Doge of *Genoa*, having, by Virtue of a Treaty made with *France* furniſhed the *French* with eight large Carracks, as many Gallies, and ſix Hundred Croſs-Bow-Men commanded by *John Grimaldi*, the two Fleets of *England*, and *France*, each conſiſting of above an Hundred Sail, came to an Engagement, in the Mouth of the *Seine*. The *Genoeſe* ſuſtained for a long Time, the moſt vigorous Attacks of the Enemy, and the Ship commanded by *Laurence Foglietta* defended itſelf againſt ſeven *Engliſh* Ships, until She was, at length diſengaged by the Dexterity of a Sailor, who cut the Cordage that held the Stage which the *Engliſh* had thrown over her Deck, from one of their Ships. But, notwithſtanding all the Efforts of the *Genoeſe*, the *French* loſt

(*d*) Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. IX. p. 394.

(*e*) Thom. de Elmham, Cap. 36.—T. Otterbourne, p. 278.—Stowe, p. 353.—Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 558.

(*f*) Mr. Secretary Burchett.

loſt the Battle, in which, *John de Franquemont*, the Son of the Vice-Admiral was ſlain, and the Baſtard of *Bourbon*, who commanded the Fleet, remained a Priſoner to the *Engliſh*, who, alſo took Four of the *Genoeſe* Carracks, on board of which was a Sum of Money, for the Payment of three Months Wages, for the Whole Fleet."

As all Obſtacles which might have prevented the ſafe Landing of the *Engliſh* Troops in *France*, appeared to be intirely removed, *Henry* began, in the Spring of the Year, to prepare for an Expedition, from the Succeſs of which He expected to obtain the Crown, and Territories of *France*. As this Event is, in ſome Meaſure connected with the Dominion of the Sea, which is a Part of our Subject, We ſhall be more particular in the Relation of it. The Army was compoſed of Troops, in the Pay of *Henry*, and of Forces levied by the Barons. The firſt amounted to ſixteen Thouſand, four Hundred: The Laſt to nine Thouſand, one Hundred, and Twenty-ſeven: Of this Army, a fourth Part was Cavalry. To eſcort them from *Dover*, a Fleet was equipped, conſiſting of fifteen Hundred Ships, of which two were remarkably magnificent, They appear to have been Admiral Ships. Their Sails were of Purple embroidered with the Arms of *England* and *France*. The one was called the King's Chamber: The Other, his Hall. A Proof that He kept his Court at Sea, and conſidered his Ships-Royal as a Kind of a Palace.

With this Armament, *Henry* ſailed (*g*) from *Portſmouth*, and landed ſoon afterwards (*h*) with his Troops, at

(*g*) July 28, 1417.

(*h*) Auguſt 1.—Thom. de Elmham. Chap. 38.—Tit. Liv. p. 31, 32, 33.—T. Otterbourne, p. 279.—Fabian, p. 396.—Hall, folio 23. b.—Grafton, p. 464.

at *Beville*, in *Normandy*. Here, He diſmiſſed the whole Fleet, excepting a few ſmall Veſſels, to tranſport his Artillery. Every Military Operation ſucceeded. He reduced *Cherbourg*, *Caen*, *Lizieux*, *Falaiſe*, *Evreux*, *Pont de l'Arche*, *Bayeux*, *Carentan*, &c. Within theſe, He eſtabliſhed Garriſons. To all the *French* who ſubmitted, He extended his Protection, but gave the Territories of thoſe who had been conquered by Force, in ſmall Lots, to *Engliſh* Adventurers. Thus, by a ſlow and regular War, during the Courſe of two Years, did *Henry* ſubdue the greateſt Part of *France*, and, at length, force the unhappy *Charles* to aſk for Peace, on any Terms (*i*). That the Troubles by which his Kingdom was agitated, contributed, in a great Meaſure, to the Succeſs of the *Engliſh*, is not to be denied; yet much muſt be attributed to the Operations of the Fleet, which perpetually annoyed the Coaſts, whilſt the Troops were employed in ravaging the more diſtant Quarters of the Enemy.

By this Treaty (*k*), *Henry* was acknowledged to be the Regent, and Heir of *France*, which, with all its Rights, and Dominions, was to remain to his Succeſſors, for ever. In Return, the King of *England* eſpouſed the Princeſs *Catharine*, Daughter to *Charles*, the Sixth, and engaged to leave that Prince, in the Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *France*, during his Life (*l*). The *Dauphin* was, alſo, adjudged incapable of ſucceeding to the Throne; and, afterwards, on a Civil Proſecution, attainted, and convicted for the Murder of the Duke of *Bur-*

(*i*) P. Æmyle, p. 617, 618.---Gaguin, p. 200.---Dupleix, V. 2. p. 735.

(*k*) Concluded, May 21, 1420.

(*l*) Thom. de Elmham, Cap. 90, 91, 92.---Tit. Liv. p. 85, et ſeq.---Mezeray, V. 3. p. 209.---Le Gendre, Tom. III. p. 628.---Rymer's Fœdera, V. 9. p. 394.---Stowe, p. 360.---Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 573.---Speed, p. 641.

Burgundy. By this Proceſs, He was rendered incapable of all Succeſſions, but more particularly of That to the Crown of *France*, and ſentenced to perpetual Baniſhment (*m*).

When the Marriage was conſummated (*n*), *Henry*, and *Charles*, accompanied by their Queens, made their Public Entry into *Paris* where, in the Month of December following, the Treaty was ratified by the States. *Henry*, thus fortunate in his Negociations, prepared for his Return to *England*, and paſſing into *Normandy*, where He convened an Aſſembly of the Province, continued his Journey through *Picardy*, to *Calais*, from whence He embarked with his Bride, and landed at *Dover*, on the Second of *February*, in the Year one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Twenty-one (*o*). It deſerves to be remarked that the *French* Hiſtorians infer, with great Juſtice, that the Departure of *Henry* was purely to obtain a freſh Supply of Treaſure, and Men, all his Reſources having been exhauſted by the preceding War (*p*). The Command of the Troops was entruſted, in the Abſence of the King, to his Brother, the Duke of *Clarence*.

Henry, having accompliſhed his Deſigns, and obtained, notwithſtanding the extreme Poverty of his Subjects, the neceſſary Supplies, reinforced his Army, and equipping a formidable Fleet, returned to purſue his Conqueſts, leaving the Queen far advanced in her Pregnancy. The Dauphin was ſtill ſupported by a conſiderable Party, and ſeveral fortified Towns, together with ſome

(*m*) Hiſtoire de France, par P. Daniel, Tom. V. p. 583, 585.

(*n*) May 30, 1420.

(*o*) Thom. de Elmham, Cap. 108, 109.—Tit. Liv. p. 91.—Chron. Godſtovian, p. 143.

(*p*) Mezeray, Tom. III. p. 211.

ſome extenſive Provinces, continued to eſpouſe his Intereſts. In an Action againſt a large Detachment from the *Engliſh* Army, He had gained a ſignal, and to the Duke of *Clarence*, a fatal Victory, as that Prince, and ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction were killed upon the Spot. This Circumſtance determined *Henry* to redouble his Activity in the Proſecution of the War, in Order that the whole Kingdom of *France* might be totally ſubdued, and the Dauphin compelled to withdraw, for Safety, into *Italy* (*q*).

On the ſixth of *December*, in the Year, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Twenty-two, Queen *Catherine* was delivered of a Prince, at *Windſor*. In the Month of May following, She repaired to *Henry*, at *Paris*. In this City, which was the Reſidence of both Courts, She remained with her Father, whilſt the King of *England* marched at the Head of his Troops, to raiſe the Siege of *Coſne*, on the *Loire*, before which the Dauphin was encamped. On the Expedition, *Henry* was ſeized with a Fiſtula, a Malady, to the Cure of which, the Surgeons of that Æra were unequal. This, and the violent Fever which attended it, proved quickly fatal. He died (*r*) at *Vincennes*, in the thirty-fourth Year of his Age, and after a glorious Reign of nine Years, five Months, and eleven Days (*s*).

We muſt aſſent to the Opinion of a Writer (*t*), who obſerves that He expired with as much Glory as He had

(*q*) Thom. de Elmham, Cap. 117. et ſeq---Tit. Liv. p. 92.---T. Walſingham, p. 404.---P. Æmyle, p. 618.---Gaguin, p. 201.---Mezeray, Tom. III. p. 213.---P. Daniel, Tom. V. p. 593, 594.

(*r*) Auguſt 31, 1422.

(*s*) T. Walſingham, p. 407.---Thom. de Elmham, Cap. 127.---Tit. Liv. p. 95---W. Wyrceſter. Annal. p. 455.---Dupleix, Tom. II. p. 754.---Mezeray, Tom. III. p. 214.---Stowe, p. 362.---Speed, p. 648.

(*t*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 274.

had lived, employing his laſt Breath in giving thoſe Directions which were neceſſary for the Safety of his Kingdoms. Had his Rules been invariably purſued, his Family might have proved as highly indebted to his Wiſdom, for the Preſervation of *France*, as they were to his Courage and Conduct, for the Poſſeſſion of it. From the Excellency of his Genius, and the Solidity of his Judgment, it is but candid to ſuppoſe that had He lived to terminate his Wars, He would have made the moſt effectual Proviſion for the Peace and Happineſs of his Subjects.

Few Sovereigns were more tenacious than *Henry* of their indubitable Rights to the Dominion of the Sea. In Preambles of Public Acts, we find his Naval Titles, and Authority expreſsly mentioned (*u*). To ſupport the Laſt, and add a Luſtre to the Firſt, his Squadrons were perpetually ſtationed near the Coaſts, and intercepted the Ships of Foreign Powers, in League with *France*. The Trade of *Flanders*, alſo, in Conſequence of a firm Alliance with the Duke of *Burgundy* was, in a great Meaſure, engroſſed by the *Engliſh*.

Yet, notwithſtanding theſe Advantages, the People, through the Interruption of foreign Commerce, and the immenſe Taxes laid upon them for the Support of the War in *France*, were ſo exceſſively diſtreſſed, that, in the eighth Year of the Reign of *Henry*, the Chancellor lamented, in his Preſence, and before the Parliament,

(*u*) Of this we have a Proof in the following Extract from the Record of Parliament.

" *Item*, priont les Commens que, par lou très ſoverain " Seigneur *Le Roy*, *et ſes Nobles Progenitors de tout Temps ont* " *eſtè Seigneurs del Mer*, *et ore*, &c."---*Item*, The Com- " mons do pray that ſeeing our Sovereign Lord, *the King and* " *his noble Progenitors have ever been Lords of the Sea*, and now, " &c." Rot. Parl. 8 Hen. V. Memb. 3. Art. 6.---See alſo, Selden's Mare Clauſam, Lib. 2. c. 23.

liament, that the Feebleneſs, and Poverty of the Kingdom had ſo long been treated with Indifference, and implored Him (as the only Remedy which could preſerve his Subjects from Ruin,) to conclude a ſpeedy Peace, and moderate thoſe Expences which no foreign Acquiſitions were capable of retrieving. The King promiſed to comply with this Deſire, and ſeemed affected by the Charge, to the Truth of which He could not remain inſenſible, having, not long before, pawned his Crown of Gold, to *Henry de Beaufort*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter* for a Sum which would not, in the preſent Times, have been eſteemed conſiderable (*x*).

To theſe Meaſures did the King recur, in Order to obtain his *French* Dominions; and yet, during the Life of his Succeſſor, the wiſeſt Politicians ſuppoſed it more expedient to loſe than to preſerve them. That the Affluence of the Subject can have no other Source than Trade is a fundamental Maxim of *Engliſh* Policy, which Time, and Experience have always juſtified (*y*). The beſt Support of the Majeſty of the Crown muſt ariſe from a firm Truſt in the Love of the People, and from a perpetual, as well as a ſuperior Power, at Sea, which is the Conſequence of their extenſive Commerce. Such is the Voice of Nature, in making our Country, an Iſland: Such, alſo, are the Dictates of ſound Reaſon, which ſhew that all Force is leſſened by an unneceſſary Extenſion. Theſe Truths have been inculcated, not only by our Hiſtory, in general, but by the Occurrences under every Reign (*z*).

With Regard to the Coinage, it may be proper to obſerve that, in the ninth Year of *Henry*, the Fifth,

(*x*) Sir Robert Cotton's Anſwers to Reaſons for Foreign Wars, p. 59.

(*y*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, p. 275, 276.

(*z*) Ibid.

Fifth, a Pound-Weight of Gold, of the old Standard, was to make, by Tale, fifty Nobles, or a hundred Half-Nobles, or two hundred Quarter-Nobles amounting to ſixteen Pounds, thirteen Shillings, and four-Pence in Tale. A Pound-Weight of the ſame old Standard was, alſo, to make, by Tale, nineteen Groſſes, or Groats, or a hundred and eighty Half-Groats, or three hundred, and ſixty Sterlings, or ſeven hundred, and twenty Mailes, or fourteen hundred, and forty Farthings, amounting to thirty Shillings. At this Period, *Bartholomew Goldbeater* was Maſter, and Worker. In the Roſe-Noble, *Henry* appears *ſtanding within a Ship*, holding in his right Hand a Sword, and in his Left a Shield, bearing the Arms of *France*, and *England*. Gold Monies, called *Saluts*, were likewiſe ſtamped by Order of *Henry*, at *Paris*, and in *Normandy*. *Du Freſne* reckons that *Salut* amongſt the proper Coins of *France*. In this Reign, the Gold Coins were ſo debaſed, that it was neceſſary to order that they ſhould be recoined, at the Tower, gratis. The ſilver Money was moſtly (as the Statute directed) coined at *Paris*, although ſome of his Pieces have CIVITAS LONDON: in the inner Circle of the Reverſe. White Money was alſo coined by *Henry*, in *France*, after the Victory of *Agincourt*; his Stile being then, REX ANGLIÆ, ET HÆRES FRANCIÆ. Theſe Blanks are obſerved by Sir *Edward Coke* (*a*) to have been worth about Eight-Pence. On Account of their Baſeneſs, they were deemed *Gally Halfpence*, *Suſkyn*, and *Dotkyn*, and prohibited by Act of Parliament. It was alſo made Treaſon to clip, waſh, or file the right Sterling Money (*b*).

As

(*a*) Coke's Inſtit. Lib. 3. Cap. 30. p. 92.

(*b*) Madox's Hiſt. of the Exchequer.—Tit. of Hon. Par. I. Cap. 8. p. 134.—3 Hen. V. Cap. 1.—3. Hen. V. Stat. 2. Cap.

As it is a Circumſtance by which the Commerce of the Kingdom muſt, in ſome Meaſure have been affected, it may be neceſſary to preſent the Reader, with an authentic, and exact Account of the ordinary Revenue of the Crown, during the Reign of *Henry*, the Fifth.

The whole Amount of it is only Fifty-five Thouſand, ſeven Hundred, and fourteen Pounds, ten Shillings, and Ten-Pence, a-Year (*c*). The Revenue of *Henry* the Third was nearly equal with this, and, in the Courſe of ſuch a Number of Years, the *Engliſh* Sovereigns had not experienced any great Increaſe, or Diminution of their Riches. The ordinary Expence of the Government amounted to Forty-two Thouſand, five Hundred, and ſeven Pounds, ſixteen Shillings, and Ten-Pence: Therefore, the Surplus, being thirteen Thouſand, two Hundred, and ſix Pounds, and fourteen Shillings, was for the Support of the Royal Houſehold, of the Wardrobe, of Embaſſies, and for other Articles. The Hiſtorian (*d*), of whoſe Reſearches I avail myſelf, adds that this Sum was by no means ſufficient, and that, the King was obliged to have frequent Recourſe to Parliamentary Supplies, and was, thus, even in Times of Peace, not altogether independent of his People. But Wars brought with them a great Expence, which neither the ordinary Revenue of the Prince, nor the extraordinary Supplies were able to bear; and the Sovereign was always reduced to many miſerable Shifts, in Order to make any tolerable Fi-

2. Cap. 6, 11. Stat. 3. Cap. 7. et Lowndes, p. 37.—Evelyn. Numiſm. p. 86.—Coke's Inſtit. Lib. 3. Cap. 30. p. 92.—Biſhop Nicholſon's Hiſtorical Library, folio, p. 259.—Rapin's Hiſtory of England, V. 4. 8vo. p. 293, 294.

(*c*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 10. p. 113.

(*d*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 3. 8vo. p. 120.

gure in them. He uſually applied for Money whereſoever there was a Chance of raiſing it, He frequently pawned his Jewels, and (as hath been already obſerved,) the Crown itſelf (*e*). To the Army, He was generally in Arrears; and He was often obliged, notwithſtanding all theſe Expedients, to ſtop, in the Midſt of Victory, and to grant Truces to the Enemy. The high Pay given to the Soldiers agreed but ill with ſo ſtinted a Revenue. All the extraordinary Supplies, granted by the Parliament, to *Henry*, during the Courſe of his Reign, were only ſeven Tenths, and Fifteenths, about two Hundred, and three Thouſand Pounds (*f*). It may eaſily be conceived how ſoon this Money was exhauſted by Armies of Twenty-four Thouſand Archers, and ſix Thouſand Horſe, when each Archer had Six-pence, a Day (*g*), and each Horſeman, two Shillings. The moſt ſplendid Succeſſes proved commonly very fruitleſs, when ſupported by ſo poor an Income, and the Debts, and Difficulties which the King thereby incurred, made Him pay dear for his Victories. Neither could the civil Adminiſtration be ever regular, even in Times of Peace, whilſt the Government was ſo unable to ſupport itſelf. It was not until the laſt Year of his Reign, that *Henry* had wherewithal to diſcharge the Debts, which He contracted, when Prince of *Wales* (*h*). In vain did the Parliament attempt to curb the arbitrary Practices of a King rendered lawleſs by his Neceſſities. For Inſtance, although

(*e*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 10. p. 190.

(*f*) Parliamentary Hiſtory, V. 2. p. 168.

(*g*) We learn from ſeveral Paſſages in Rymer, (particularly V. 9. p. 258.) that the King paid twenty Marks a-Year for an Archer, which is conſiderably more than Sixpence a-Day. The Price had riſen, as is natural, by raiſing the Denomination of Money.—Hume.

(*h*) Rymer, V. 10. p. 114.

though the Right of levying Purveyance had been expreſsly guarded againſt by the Great Charter itſelf, and was frequently complained of by the Commons, it was found impracticable to aboliſh it; and the Parliament, at length, ſubmitting to it, as a legal Prerogative, contented themſelves with enacting Laws to limit, and confine it (*i*). We are informed that the Duke of *Glouceſter*, in the Reign of *Richard*, the Second, enjoyed a Revenue of Sixty Thouſand Crowns (*k*) (nearly equal to thirty Thouſand Pounds, a-Year, of our preſent Money,) and was, of Courſe, if all Circumſtances be duly conſidered, richer than the King himſelf (*l*). It was *Henry*, the Fifth, who raiſed the Denomination of Money, and coined thirty Shillings from a Pound Troy (*m*). His Revenue, therefore, muſt have been about an Hundred, and ten Thouſand Pounds, Money of our Times, and, by the Cheapneſs of Proviſions, was equivalent to more than three Hundred, and thirty Thouſand Pounds (*n*).

We may reaſonable infer that the Vigour of the *Engliſh* Commerce was conſiderably impaired by the Annual Expence of nineteen Thouſand, one Hundred, and nineteen Pounds, with which the Crown was burthened for the Preſervation of *Calais* (*o*), a Place, unſerviceable to the *Engliſh*, in all Reſpects, but as a convenient Opening to the Country of their Enemies. *Ireland*, alſo, coſt two Thouſand Pounds a Year, over, and above its own Revenue, which was certainly very low (*p*)

(*i*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 3. 8vo. p. 121.
(*k*) Froiſart, Liv. 4. Chap. 86.
(*l*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 3. 8vo. p. 121.
(*m*) Fleetwood's Chronicon Precioſum, p. 52.
(*n*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 3. 8vo. p. 122.
(*o*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 10. p. 113.
(*p*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 3. 8vo. p. 121.

The Thrones of *England*, and of *France* were, now, filled by an Infant, in his Cradle, *Henry*, the Sixth, of *Windſor*, who was proclaimed, firſt, at *London*, and ſoon afterwards (*q*) in *Paris*, on the Demiſe of *Charles* the Sixth; although the *French* acknowledged the *Dauphin* for their Sovereign, by the Stile of *Charles*, the Seventh (*r*). In the Minority of *Henry*, the Adminiſtration of Affairs devolved on his Uncles, whoſe great Abilities were judged equal to the Truſt (*s*). Of Theſe, *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, (the Regent of *France*,) was appointed *Protector*, or *Guardian* of *England*, and *Humphrey*, Duke of *Glouceſter* inveſted with the ſame Dignity, during the Abſence of the Former (*t*). Properly to curb the Authority of theſe Princes, the Parliament eſtabliſhed a Council, and enacted that no Meaſure of Importance ſhould be carried into Execution, without their Advice, and Approbation (*u*).

The Vigilance, and Aſſiduity of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who reinforced, and amply provided for the Army in *France*, gave a favourable Appearance to the Commencement of this Reign. The Duke of *Bedford*, brave, prudent and experienced, ſought every Opportunity of ſecuring the Friendſhip of the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, and through their Aſſiſtance, kept Poſſeſſion of all the Dominions which had been left by *Henry* the Fifth, to his Succeſſor. So feeble was the Power of *Charles* the Seventh, when oppoſed to theſe formidable Confederates, that nothing but a Diſſo-

(*q*) October 21, 1422.

(*r*) Dupleix, Tom. II. p. 576.—Mezeray, Tom. III. p. 215.—Le Gendre, Tom. IV. p. 1.—Stowe, p. 363.—Speed, p. 651.

(*s*) Thom. de Elmham, Cap. 129.—Tit. Liv. p. 95.—Caron. Godſtovian, p. 145.—T. Walſingham, p. 407.

(*t*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 10. p. 261. Cotton, p. 564.

(*u*) Cotton, p. 564.

Diſſolution of their Union, could have proved the leaſt detrimental to the Intereſts of *England*. This fatal Circumſtance, at length arrived. *Glouceſter*, the Lord Protector, having taken *Jaqueline*, of *Hainault* from her Huſband, the Duke of *Brabant*, married her, and, in her Right, claimed extenſive Territories in the Low-Countries; and collecting a Fleet, and Army, attempted to get Poſſeſſion of them, by Force. Theſe Proceedings were reſented by the Duke of *Burgundy*, who entered ſo violently into the Quarrel of his Couſin, the Duke of *Brabant*, that, from being, at firſt, only diſaffected to the *Engliſh*, He, at length, totally deſerted them (*x*).

On the ſixth of November, in the Year, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Twenty-nine, *Henry* was crowned in *England*; and next, at *Paris*, in the December of the following Year: But his Aſcendency in *France* was verging to its Decline, and ſunk irrecoverably, on the Death of the Duke of *Bedford* (*y*), whoſe Reſolution, Sagacity, and Addreſs, had (more than any Circumſtance whatſoever,) contributed to ſupport it (*z*).

In the ſucceeding Year (*a*) the Regency of *France* was given to the Duke of *York*; but the Delay in ſigning his Patent, added to the Oppoſition which a Prince ſo little beloved by the *Engliſh* was expoſed to in collecting the Supplies, proved of Service to the Enemy, who had reduced *Paris*, previous to his Arrival within the Kingdom. The Duke of *Burgundy*, alſo, at the Head

(*x*) Dupleix, Tom. II. p. 784, 785.—Mezeray, Tom. III. p. 236, 237.—Le Gendre, Tom. IV. p. 6.

(*y*) A. D. 1435.

(*z*) Chron. Godſtovian, p. 145.—W. Wyrceſter. Annal. p. 445, 446, 457.—Cooper's Chronicle, p. 258, 259.

(*a*) A. D. 1436.

of a numerous Army, had inveſted *Calais* (*b*). To relieve this Fortreſs, the Lord Protector, with a conſiderable Body of Troops, and a Fleet of five Hundred Sail, under his Command, departed, in Haſte, from *England*. At his Approach, the *Flemings* raiſed the Siege, and retired into their own territories; whither They were purſued by the Regent and his Forces, who, after living, for ſome Time, in the Country, at Diſcretion, returned, with their Chief, to *England* (*c*). The Harbour of *Calais*, in order to prevent the Entrance of the *Engliſh* Ships, had been choaked up with Hulkes, laden with large ſquare Stones, joined together by Lead. Theſe, at the Reflux of the Tide, were burned by the Troops of the Protector (*d*).

Towards the End of the Year one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Thirty-ſeven, the Earl of *Warwick*, appointed Regent of *France*, in the Room of the Duke of *York* (after having frequently gone on board of the Ship which was to carry Him, and then, ſuddenly, diſembarked,) ſailed for that Kingdom, where He, ſoon afterwards, died, and was ſucceeded, in his Poſt, by the Perſon whom He had replaced.

Neither the Duke of *York*, nor the Reinforcements which attended Him were ſufficient to give Activity, and Succeſs to the languid Operations of the War. A Truce was, at length, agreed on (*e*), and followed by the Nuptials of *Henry*, with *Margaret*, of *Anjou* (*f*). The *Engliſh* were gradually, ſtripped of all their Conqueſts in *France*, excepting *Calais*, and ſome inconſiderable

(*b*) July.

(*c*) Paul Æmyle, 624, 625.—Gaguin, p. 217, 218.—Dupleix, Tom. II. p. 810, 811, 812.—Polydore Virgil, Lib. 23. p. 619, 620.

(*d*) Monſtrelet, folio 132.

(*e*) May 28, 1444.—Act. Pub. V. 11. p. 58.

(*f*) April 22, 1445.

ſiderable Fortreſſes. Howſoever ſeverely They might have felt the Burden of Expences incurred by maintaining Them, yet, They could not without Reluctance, and Complaints, ſubmit to the Loſs of Cities, and Provinces, ſo dearly purchaſed with the Blood, and Treaſure of their Anceſtors (*g*).

The *French*, anxious for the more effectual Reduction of an Enemy, the Progreſs of whoſe Arms had been of late ſo fatal to Them, prepared, even in Time of Peace, to make a Deſcent upon the Coaſts of *England*. The Relation of the Circumſtances which preceded this Expedition is too intimately connected with the Subject of a Naval Hiſtory to be omitted. A leſs diſcerning Prince than *Charles* the Seventh muſt have perceived with equal Jealouſy, and Vexation, a Foe ſo powerful on the Ocean as to ſucceed almoſt in every Conteſt for the Victory. Senſible that no Dependance could be placed ſolely on his domeſtic Succours, He prudently applied for Aid to foreign States. *Chriſtiern*, The Firſt, King of *Denmark*, was induced under certain lucrative Conditions, to enter with him into a League offenſive, and defenſive, and to ſupply Him with a powerful Fleet, conſiſting of at leaſt forty Ships of War, the which, together with an Army of ſeven Thouſand Men, were to act, in Concert, with the *French* againſt the *Engliſh*. By the Breach of an Article in this Treaty, the foregoing Agreements, for which alone it was concluded, became entirely cancelled. *Charles* had engaged that the King of *Scots* ſhould ſatisfy the *Danes*, for the Inſults which They pretended to have received from Him. It ſoon appeared that He was unable to perform this Promiſe; and, therefore, *Chriſtiern* refuſed

(*g*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 11. p. 59—Stowe, p. 383.—Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 624.—Speed, p. 661.

to furniſh Him with the ſtipulated Succours. In the mean Time, *Margaret*, of *Anjou*, the Conſort of *Henry*, had entered into a ſecret Negociation with the King of *Scotland*, to ſecure whom from the Attempts of the *Engliſh*, and forward her own Deſigns, She conceived the Reſolution of encouraging the *French* Invaſion. With this View, She applied to her Relations, at the Court of *Charles*, who eaſily perſuaded Him to embrace the Meaſure. Accordingly, a Fleet was equipped in *Normandy*, and, proceeding (*h*) from thence, for *England*, appeared off the Coaſt of *Kent*, at the Diſtance of about two Leagues from *Sandwich*, where the Troops amounting to eighteen Hundred Men were diſembarked, with Orders to attack the Town, whilſt the Ships ſhould lie before it, in Readineſs to aſſiſt them. A *French* Hiſtorian (*i*), who hath circumſtantially related this Event, acknowledges, with our own Writers, that the *Engliſh*, although attacked by Surprize, defended themſelves with ſingular Intrepidity, and that the Spoils, conſiderable as they were, together with the Advantage (too inhumanly prized, at that Period,) of having reduced the Town to Aſhes, did not compenſate for the Slaughter, on the Side of the Invaders (*k*). He obſerves that thus, a Prince, who, thirty Years before, was, by the *Engliſh*, contemptuouſly ſtiled the King of *Bourges*, became ſufficiently powerful to inſult them, in their own Iſland, and to threaten their Country with the ſame Calamities which they had, heretofore, brought upon *France*. This Partiality might be leſs ridiculous, had there been no Difference between the Demolition of the Town of *Sandwich*, followed by the immediate Retreat of the Conquerors; and the Reduction of *Paris*,

(*h*) Auguſt, 1457.
(*i*) P. Daniel, Tom. VI. p. 292.
(*k*) Fabian, p. 462.—Hall, fol. 88.—Grafton, p. 630.

Paris, which was, during ſeveral Years, in the Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*. So ardent is the Zeal of this Hiſtorian for the Reputation of his Country. We ſubſcribe to a liberal Opinion (*l*), in ſuppoſing that it may vindicate a greater Error.

The *French* alſo invaded the Coaſts of *Cornwall*, whilſt the *Scots* were ſpreading their Devaſtations along the Borders (*m*). But theſe Enterprizes, far from accelerating the Deſigns of *Margaret*, and her Adherents, ſerved only to heighten that general Diſaffection which, now, broke violently out, and was proceeding to the laſt Extremities. The Partizans of the Houſe of *York* were aſſiduous to cultivate an Intereſt with the *Engliſh* Mariners, and the Inhabitants of *Ireland*. They perſuaded the former that the Protection of the Coaſts was inſidiouſly withdrawn, and they inſpired the latter, by the moſt alarming Deſcription of their impending Ruin, with a Determination to be revenged of their Oppreſſors. The Earl of *Warwick*, the great Support of this Confederacy, had procured for himſelf, the Office of Lord High Admiral; and, as an Inſtance of his Zeal for the Advancement of the Naval Reputation of the Kingdom, gave Orders for the immediate Equipment of ſome powerful Squadrons, the Commanders of which were furniſhed with Inſtructions the moſt likely to promote, in their Execution, the Accompliſhment of his Deſigns.

On the Trinity-Sunday of the Year one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Fifty-eight, a Part of this Navy, fell in with the *Spaniſh* Fleet. The *Engliſh* were firſt attacked, and immediately proceeded to Hoſtilities. In the Action which laſted with great Slaughter, for a conſiderable

(*l*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 280.

(*m*) Dupleix, Tom. II.—Buchanan. Lib. 11.—Hall, folio 89. b.

ſiderable Time, ſix of the *Spaniſh* Ships, laden with Iron, and other valuable Merchandize, were taken; and Twenty-ſix were either ſunk, or driven aſhore (*n*). Several of our Hiſtorians confound this Enterprize with that which follows, and which, in Point of Time was ſubſequent to it. Although We cannot exactly fix the Date, yet it unqueſtionably appears that they were diſtinct Engagements. In the Firſt, the Earl of *Warwick* was not preſent: During the Laſt, He commanded in Perſon (*o*).

This brave, and accompliſhed Lord had been appointed, by the Parliament, to the Government of *Calais*. *Margaret*, employing Artifice, and Flattery, attempted to detain Him at the Court. But, perceiving that He was fixed in his Determination to repair to *France*, She laid a Scheme to deprive Him of his Life. Endeavours were uſed to execute it, within the Palace; and *Warwick*, who had eſcaped with Difficulty, took Shelter on board a Veſſel which belonged to Him, and proceeded inſtantly to *Calais*. Soon after his Arrival, He ſelected from a powerful Squadron, lying within the Harbour, fourteen of the largeſt Ships, and cruized near the Channel, to prevent *Margaret*, of *Anjou*, from receiving any Succours from *France*, and to aſſiſt, if an Opportunity ſhould preſent itſelf, the Duke of *York*, and his Adherents. Sailing near the Coaſts, He had the good Fortune to intercept a ſmall Fleet, conſiſting of three *Genoeſe*, and two *Spaniſh* Ships of War. Their Commanders, well ſupplied with Men, and Ammunition, ſuſtained the Attack, with great Conduct, and Reſolu-

(*n*) Fabian, p. 464.—Stowe, p. 404—Speed, p. 668.

(*o*) The Reader may compare the Account of this Enterprize, by Mr. Secretary *Burchett*, and Mr. *Echard*, with that of *Rapin*, and with the Relation of the ſucceeding Actions in *Holingſhed*.

Reſolution, during the Space of two Days. At length, the Earl of *Warwick* was victorious, taking, and carry-into the Port of *Calais*, three Ships, the Cargoes of which, valued at upwards of ten Thouſand Pounds, were ſold to the Inhabitants of that Place, who were permitted to purchaſe them, at a reaſonable Rate. Orders were given to purſue the other two Ships, which ſheered off towards the cloſe of the Action; but Theſe, being ſwift of Sail, were not long within Sight of their Enemies (*p*) (A).

Henceforward, all Modes of Accommodation were abandoned, and each Party prepared openly for a Deciſion of their Diſputes, by Force of Arms. Whilſt the Duke of *York* retreated into *Ireland*, ſeveral of the Nobility paſſed over to *Calais*, and joined the Earl of *Warwick*.

(*p*) Stowe, p. 404.—Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 648.—Speed, p. 668.

(A) An Engagement between *Richard*, Earl of *Warwick*, and two large *French* Carracks, is deſcribed (although not explicitly,) in an old Manuſcript, from a Drawing in which, a Plate hath been engraved for this Work.—Tho Arms of the Earl are quartered on the Sail: The Streamer is alſo ornamented with his Badge; the Bear, and Ragged Staff: The Space between the Forecaſtle and Cabin, at the Stern, is filled with *Engliſh* Archers. The *French*, likewiſe, have their Croſs-Bow-Men. In the Galleries, on the Tops of the Maſts, are Men appointed to caſt down Darts and Stones, upon the Enemy below. On the Forecaſtle of *Warwick*'s Ship, is an Archer aiming at the Man, who appears in the Gallery, on the Maſt of the oppoſite Ship, whilſt the Other, with a Stone in his Hands, is transfixed with an Arrow. On the Forecaſtle of the Front Carrack, is a Man at Arms, with his Spear and Shield, ready to ſtrike at the Archers in the Earl's Veſſel. The Cannons are pointed over the Side of the Ship, but do not appear to be of Uſe in the cloſe Battle.—The Repreſentation may ſtill farther explain our Account of the Naval Architecture, and Operations of this Æra.—Strutt's Compleat View of the Manners, Cuſtoms, &c. of the Inhabitants of England, V. 2. p. 76.

wick. Againſt this formidable Chief, now Maſter of a numerous Fleet, and ſtrengthened by the Attachment of the *Engliſh* Mariners, it was not poſſible for *Henry* to direct the feeble Naval Armaments which yet remained within his Harbours. The Lords *Rivers* was diſpatched by *Margaret*, to *Sandwich*, and directed to fit out, as the laſt Reſource, a Squadron which, engaging with the Fleet of *Warwick*, might, if victorious, aſſiſt Him to deprive that Nobleman of the Government of *Calais*. No ſooner were theſe Ships in Readineſs, than the Earl gave Orders that a Diviſion of his Fleet ſhould ſail, under the Command of Sir *John Denham*, who, reaching *Sandwich*, about Break of Day, ſurprized the Officers in their Beds, and carried Them, with all the Veſſels, and Mariners, to *Calais* (*q*). The Earl of *Rivers*, and *Anthony Woodville*, his Son, were detained Priſoners, during ſome Time. The Ships which had attended the Duke of *Somerſet*, to *Flanders*, likewiſe, revolted, and went over to the Earl of *Warwick* (*r*). On the Side of *Henry*, Sir *Baldwin Fulford* undertook to burn the Fleet of his Adverſary, within the Haven of *Calais*. A raſh Promiſe, which He found it impoſſible to execute. The Earl of *Warwick*, next, ſailed with a powerful Armament to *Ireland*, where, at an Interview with the Duke of *York*, He concerted Meaſures for their mutual Defence. On his Return, the Duke of *Exeter* waited, with the royal Navy, to give Him Battle. Yet when the Fleet of *Warwick* appeared in View, the Sailors in the Service of *Henry*, were ſo averſe from an Engagement, that the commanding Officers thought proper to decline it. *Warwick*, equally unwilling to begin

(*q*) Act. Pub. V. 11. p. 440.

(*r*) Fabian, p. 465, 466, 467.—Hall, folio 91.—Grafton, p. 635, 639.—Holingſhed, p. 1297.

begin the Conteſt, paſſed by, without offering the leaſt Hoſtility.

Soon afterwards, the Earl was invited by the Inhabitants of *Kent*, to land upon their Coaſts. Arriving with his Fleet, near *Sandwich*, He found Sir *Simon Mountford*, the Warden of the *Cinque Ports*, with a ſtrong Squadron, in Readineſs to oppoſe Him. A Battle immediately enſued, and proved fatal to the Royaliſts. All the Ships were taken, and *Mountford* ſlain. The Victorious Party, having plundered the Town, returned with their Prizes, to *Calais* (*s*).

This appears to be the laſt Naval Event, in the tumultuous Reign of *Henry*, who was, ſoon afterwards (*t*) dethroned, when the eldeſt Son of the late Duke of *York* was proclaimed King of *England*, under the Title of *Edward* the Fourth (*u*).

The Reader will naturally imagine that, amidſt the Violence of domeſtic Faction, the Commerce of the Kingdom was haſtening to Decay. The Profuſion, and Miſmanagement of *Henry*, were Obſtacles in its Progreſs too difficult to be ſurmounted. In the twenty-eighth Year of his Reign, He had contracted Debts to the enormous Sum of three Hundred, and ſeventy-two Thouſand Pounds; whilſt his ordinary Income was ſunk to five Thouſand Pounds. This occaſioned a Reſumption, at the Requeſt of the Commons. The ſame Remedy (if it deſerve the Title,) was frequently applied to the ſame Diſorder. At length, it became incurable, and all Expedients which Poverty, or Deſpair could dictate, were, in their Turns recurred to. The King mort-

(*s*) Stowe, p. 407.—Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 652.—Speed, p. 669.

(*t*) March 5, 1461.

(*u*) Stowe, p. 415—Holingſhed, p. 661.—Hall, folio 101. b---Grafton, p. 656, 657.---Cooper's Chronicle---Polydore Virgil, Lib. 23.

mortaged the Cuſtoms of *London*, and *Southampton*, to the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, and, in Order to render the Security more eligible to that Prelate, had bound Himſelf, by an Indenture, to confine the Trade, as much as poſſible, to thoſe Ports. In the thirty-firſt Year of his Reign, He ſeized all the Tin, at *Southampton*, and ſold it for his own Uſe. He alſo, granted Licences to foreign Merchants, to tranſport Wool, in Violation of the Statutes (*x*).

It appears from the Records, that, during the Sovereignty of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, ſuch extraordinary Privileges were granted to the *Hanſe-Towns*, that they were enabled to engroſs (or, as they ſtile it, manage a conſiderable Part of) our Trade (*y*). The Reſt was, in a great Meaſure, abſorbed by *Florentines*, and other *Italians* (*z*); a Circumſtance partly owing to the Neceſſities of *Henry* the Fifth, during his *French* Wars; and partly, alſo, to the weak Adminiſtration under his Son, eſpecially towards the Cloſe of his Reign, when, through the Artifices of the Queen, the Intereſt of Foreigners were conſtantly promoted. This occaſioned frequent Tumults in the City of *London*, and was one chief Cauſe of that extraordinary Revolution, in Favour of the Houſe of *York*, who (as hath already been obſerved,) paid their Court to the People, by a marked Averſion from Foreigners, and by cheriſhing the Seamen of whom little Care had been taken, in this unhappy Reign. We ſhall, in the next Æra, perceive the *Engliſh* reſuming the Sovereignty of the Sea, and riſing to Importance by the Frequency of their Victories, and the Proſperity of their Commerce (*a*).

In

(*x*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 286.
(*y*) Molloy de Jure Maritimo, p. 341.
(*z*) Fabian, p. 459.---Hall, folio 87. b.---Grafton.---Stowe, &c.
(*a*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 287.

In this Reign, the Parliament permitted the Exportation of Corn, when it was at low Prices; Wheat at ſix Shillings, and eight Pence, a Quarter, Money of that Age; Barley at three Shillings, and four Pence (*b*). It appears from theſe Prices that Corn ſtill remained at near half its preſent Value; although our Commodities were much cheaper. In the eighteenth Year of *Henry*, the inland Commerce of Corn was alſo opened, by allowing any Collector of the Cuſtoms to grant a Licence to carry it from one Country, to another (*c*). At the ſame Period, A Kind of Navigation Act was propoſed with Regard to all Places within the Streights; but the King rejected it (*d*).

We next, proceed to the Coinage. In the firſt Year of *Henry*, the Sixth, a Pound-Weight of Gold, of the old Standard, was coined into Forty five Rials of ten Shillings, or a proportional Number of Half-Rials, and Quarter, or Farthing-Rials, at five Shillings, and two Shillings, and Sixpence. By the ſame Indenture, inſtead of Nobles, and Half-Nobles, were coined, Sixty-ſeven, and a Half to the Pound, Angels, at ſix Shillings, and Eight-Pence, or a proportionable Number of Angels, at three Shillings, and Fourpence. Conſequently, the Pound Troy was coined into Twenty-two Pounds, ten Shillings, by Tale. The Mint was a while continued at *Calais*, where the Maſter was obliged to coin Half-Nobles, and Farthings of Gold; with Groats, Half-Groats, Pence, Halfpence, and Farthings; that the "*Common People might have ſmall Gold, and white Mo-*"*ney, as They reaſonably ſhould need.*" And yet, the very Year before, it was enacted that the King's Coun-

cil

(*b*) Statutes at large, 15 Hen. VI. Cap. 2.---23 Hen. VI. Cap. 6.

(*c*) Cotton, p. 625.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 626.

cil might order the coining of Money, at *York*, and *Briſtol*, or what other Places They thought fit. The *Salut* was a *French* Coin like that of *Henry*, the Fifth, and very much reſembled the ſilver Groat, which He likewiſe coined in that Kingdom, ſaving that the Groats wanted the Angel, and Virgin over the Shield, and inſtead of CHRISTUS VINCIT, had SIT NOMEN DOMINI BENEDICTUM. By the Indenture of the ſame firſt Year of *Henry*, the Sixth, the Silver Money was of the old Standard, one Hundred, and twelve Groats to the Pound, making in Tale, Thirty-ſeven Shillings, and Sixpence, or a proportionable Number of Half-Groats, Sterlings, Halfpence, and Farthings. Theſe were moſtly coined at *London*, but there were other Mints, beſides Thoſe already mentioned at *Dublin*, *Canterbury*, and *Dunwich*. Care having been thus taken to ſupply Perſons with good Money, it was made Felony, to receive, or pay Blanks, which were a Sort of white Money, coined by *Henry*, the Fifth, in *France*, after his Victory at *Agincourt*. Sir *Edward Coke* obſerves that theſe Pieces were called Blanks from their Colour, and to diſtinguiſh them from the *Salus* of pure Gold, coined at the ſame Time; but the Blanks (He adds,) were only valued at Eight-Pence, and, on Account of their Baſeneſs, decried. By Indenture, the fourth of his Reign, the Value of Gold was brought down again to ſixteen Pounds, thirteen Shillings and Four-Pence; and the Silver to thirty Shillings. By another Indenture of the laſt Year of this Reign, it was raiſed again to Thirty-ſeven Shillings, and Sixpence. Thus it continued almoſt fifty Years. In the Thirty-ſeventh of this Reign, Braſs-Money was firſt coined in *Ireland*, of which, however, We have no perfect Account from any Author, who hath ſeen it (*e*).

(*e*) Madox's Hiſtory of the Exchequer.---1 Hen. VI. Cap. 1.---2 Hen. VI. Cap. 6, 9, 12.---Camd. Brit. in Suffolc.---J. Weever

from the Moment of his Acceſſion, the young *Edward* was compelled, by the Dangers of his Situation, to proſecute the War, for the Security of his Crown. At the Battle of *Towton* (*f*), He gained a Victory over the Troops of *Henry*, who, privately retiring from the Field, fled for Refuge into *Scotland*. His Queen paſſed over to *France*, where She procured ſome Naval Succours under the Command of the Admiral *Peter de Breſe*, to whom the Conduct of a former Expedition (during which He took the Town of *Sandwich*) had been entruſted by his Sovereign. On their Approach to *Tinmouth* Bay, they found the Mariners, and Inhabitants of the Place, unalterable in their Attachments to the Houſe of *York*, and eagerly preparing for Reſiſtance. So unexpected a Reception induced them to put off to Sea, when *Margaret*, and her Son, were ſeparated by a Tempeſt, from the Fleet, and driven towards *Berwick*, in the Harbour of which, She, at length, arrived, and only ſtaying until her Veſſel was refitted, proceeded from thence to *France* (*g*).

Soon afterwards, the Earl of *Kent*, attended by the Lords, *Audley* and *Clinton*, Sir *John Howard*, Sir *Richard Walgrave*, and other Officers, together with ten Thouſand Troops, embarked on board a powerful Squadron, and ſailed to *Bretagne*. They took, and reduced to Aſhes, the Town of *Tonquet*, then ravaged

Weever Fun. Mon. p. 718, 720.---Coke's Inſtit, Par. III. Cap. 30. p. 92.--Forteſcue de Laud. Leg. Angl. Cap. 53. Folio 127. a.---Evelyn. Numiſm. p. 228.—Tit. of Hon. p. 135.——Biſhop Nicholſon's Hiſtorical Library, Folio, p. 259, 260.---Rapin's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 4. p. 510.

(*f*) Palm Sunday, March 29, 1461.---Stowe, 415.

(*g*) Fabian, p. 473, 493.---Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 666.---Speed, p. 676.

vaged the Iſle of *Rhee*, and embarking with their Plunder, returned to *England* (*h*).

The unfortunate *Henry* had concealed Himſelf, during a Twelve-Month, with a ſmall Number of his Friends in *Lancaſhire*. At the End of this Period, He was diſcovered, brought a Priſoner to *Edward*, and, by his Order, caſt into the Tower (*i*). The Safety of his Perſon is juſtly obſerved to have been leſs owing to the Generoſity of his Enemies, than to the Contempt which they had entertained of his Courage, and his Underſtanding (*k*).

At this Period, the Security of *Edward* was fatally interrupted by the Defection of the Earl of *Warwick*, who, joining the *Lancaſtrians*, proved the Inſtrument of replacing their Sovereign, on the Throne. The Majority of our Hiſtorians (*l*) aſcribe the Reſentment of *Warwick* to the Duplicity of *Edward*, who, pretending an Inclination to eſpouſe *Bona* of *Savoy*, the Siſter to the Queen of *France*, diſpatched the Earl to *Paris*, with Orders to demand that Princeſs, for Him, in Marriage. The Propoſals had been accepted; the Treaty

(*h*) Grafton, p. 659.—Stowe, p. 416.—Holingſhed, p. 1313.—The Reaſon why *Rapin* queſtions this Fact, is, becauſe the *French* Hiſtorians have not taken Notice of it.—The Author of the Lives of the Admirals * obſerves that "this ſeems no juſt Objection, while *Bretagne* was ſubject "to its own Duke."

* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 290.

(*i*) Hall, Folio 191.—Fragm. ad Finem Sprotti.

(*k*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 3. p. 225.

(*l*) Hall, Folio 193.—Fabian, Folio 216.—Habington, p. 437.—Holingſhed, p. 667.—Grafton, p. 665.—Polyd. Virg. p. 513.—Biondi, p. 11.—Rapin's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 5. p. 22, 24, 26.—Hume's Hiſt. of England, V. 3. p. 226, 227, 228.—Hiſtoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edouard III. &c. par. M. Gaillard, Tom. III. p. 481, 482.

Treaty was concluded; and Nothing remained but her Union with the King. Thus far the Negociation appeared ſucceſsful, when *Warwick* received Intelligence that *Edward* had, during his Abſence, given his Hand to the Lady *Elizabeth*, daughter of Sir *Richard Wideville*, (by *Jaqueline* of *Luxembourg*, Dutcheſs of *Bedford*,) and Widow of Sir *John Gray*, of *Groby*. *Edward*, at a ſucceeding Interview with *Warwick*, was too haughty to make the leaſt Acknowledgment of his Error, and converted a once powerful Adherent, into a dangerous Enemy, by ſuffering Him to depart the Court, inflamed with Rage, and Indignation.

A Naval Writer (*m*), after having obſerved that the great Power of the Earl of *Warwick* aroſe from his being Admiral, and Captain of *Calais*, proceeds to an Inquiry concerning the Errors which are imagined to have crept into the Accounts of the Cauſes of his Deſertion, and "the rather, (He adds,) as the Matter is new, and "not only affects the *Engliſh*, but ſome, alſo, of the "moſt accurate amongſt foreign Hiſtorians." We ſhall preſent the Reader with the Whole of the Remarks on this Subject, and leave Him to his own Conjectures: Yet, not without obſerving that there are no Traces in *Rymer* of the Embaſſy of *Warwick* (*n*).

"Mr. *Hearne* hath publiſhed ſome Memoirs of "this Reign, written by a Perſon who not only lived "therein, but was alſo well acquainted with the King, "and the chief Nobles of his Court (*o*). He vouches "the Circumſtance to be quite otherwiſe; and that this "Story was deviſed, in after times, to hide the Truth.

(*m*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 291, 292.
(*n*) Ibid.
(*o*) Printed at the End of "Thomæ Sprotti Chronica." 8vo.—Oxford, 1719.

" According to Him, the Earl of *Warwick* had not " been in *France*, before the Kings Marriage, which " was on the firſt of May, in the Year, one Thouſand, " four Hundred, and Sixty-three ; but four Years af- " terwards, namely, in the Year, one Thouſand, four " Hundred, and Sixty-ſeven, He was ſent to treat " with *Lewis*, the Eleventh, King of *France*, with " whom He began to hold privately ſome Intelligence " for the Reſtoration of *Henry*, the Sixth, to whoſe " Party the *French* had always been inclined (*p*). In- " deed this ſeems to be the Truth, and accords much " better with Facts, and Dates, than the other Story, " ſince it is not eaſy to conceive how a Man of the " Earl of *Warwick*'s violent Temper ſhould diſſemble " his Reſentment, ſo many Years together (*q*)."

" The true Cauſe, therefore, of his quitting the " King was his immeaſurable Ambition, and the Ap- " prehenſions He was under that the new Queen's Kin- " dred would ſupplant Him, and his Friends ; and this, " notwithſtanding the great Offices of which He was " poſſeſſed, and which brought Him in twenty Thou- " ſand Marks, *per Annum* (*r*) (*s*).

Having declared in Favour of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, *Warwick* ſtrengthened his Party, by the Acquiſition of a powerful Aſſociate, *George*, Duke of *Clarence*, and ſecond Brother to *Edward*. As the valuable Reward of his Attachment, the Earl gave this Prince, his eldeſt Daughter, a Coheireſs of immenſe Fortune, in Marriage (*o*) ; and then retired with Him to *Calais*. Here, extra-

(*p*) Anonymous Chronicle, cited above, p. 297, 298, 299.
(*q*) 1497.
(*r*) Ibid, p. 300.
(*s*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 292.
(*t*) W. Wyrcheſter. Annal, p. 511.—Hall, fol. 200.—Habington, p. 439.—Polyd. Virg. p. 515.

extraordinary as it may ſeem, They ſtayed during the Commencement of the Rebellion. Soon afterwards, they arrived in *England*, made Proteſtations of their Loyalty to *Edward*, were graciouſly received by Him, and even truſted with Offices of Importance (*u*). When Sir *Robert Welles*, at the Head of thirty Thouſand Men, roſe in *Lincolnſhire* (*x*), *Edward* was ſo far from harbouring the leaſt Suſpicion either of *Warwick*, or of *Clarence*, that He granted them Commiſſions of Array, for aſſembling Troops to act againſt the Inſurgents (*y*). It was on this Occaſion, that they threw off the Maſk, levied Forces in their own Name, and declared againſt the Government. Theſe, however, were haſtily diſbanded on the News of the Defeat of *Welles*, who was taken Priſoner by the King, and immediately beheaded. A Proclamation was alſo iſſued for apprehending *Warwick*, and *Clarence* (*z*), who fled into *Devonſhire*, and from thence embarked for *Calais* (*a*), attended by a Squadron of eighty Ships (*b*).

When the Earl approached the Harbour of this Town, He was ſurprized at receiving a Meſſage from *Vauclair*, the Lieutenant Governor, who not only refuſed him Admittance, but would not ſuffer the Ducheſs of *Clarence* to land, although informed that She had been delivered on Ship-board, but a few Days before, and was extremely weakened by her Illneſs. The only Favour which could be extorted from Him was two Flaggons of Wine, for the Service of the Ladies.

(*u*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 11. p. 647, 649, 650.
(*x*) March, 1470.—Hall, fol. 204.—Fabian, fol. 218.—Habington, p. 442.—Holingſhed, p. 674.
(*y*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 11. p. 652.
(*z*) Ibid, p. 654.
(*a*) Hall, fol. 204.
(*b*) Monſtrelet. Contin. fol. 164.

The Perſon who brought this inſignificant Preſent was commanded to inform the Earl that *Vauclair* was ſtill devoted to Him; but that the Neceſſity of the Times conſtrained Him to aſſume the Appearance of an Attachment to *Edward*, by which Artifice, He hoped to acquire the Confidence of that Prince, and unmoleſted keep Poſſeſſion of the Fortreſs, until a proper Opportunity ſhould offer of delivering it to the Earl (*c*). *Warwick* affected, at leaſt, to rely on his Sincerity, and, after having ſeized ſome *Flemiſh* Veſſels, which were at Anchor, near the Harbour, ſet ſail for *Dieppe*, where He ſafely landed with his two Daughters, and the Duke of *Clarence*. From thence, He departed for *Amboiſe*, where, at an Interview with *Lewis*, the Eleventh, He obtained from that Monarch a Promiſe of ſuch Succours as might be neceſſary to facilitate the Reſtoration of *Henry*, to the Crown of *England* (*d*).

Whilſt the Army was levying for the Service of the Earl of *Warwick*, a Diviſion of his Fleet ſtood out to Sea, in Readineſs to commit Hoſtilities againſt the *Flemings*, whoſe Sovereign, the Duke of *Burgundy*, eſpouſed the Cauſe of *Edward*. To retaliate upon his Adverſaries, who had taken ſeveral of his Ships, this Potentate collected a formidable Navy, and proceeding with it to the Mouth of the *Seine*, blocked up the Fleet belonging to the Earl of *Warwick*, in their Harbour. Towards the Beginning of the Month of September, in the Year, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Seventy-one, the King of *France* had furniſhed *Margaret*, of *Anjou*, the Duke of *Clarence*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, now united in the ſame Cauſe, with a powerful Naval,

(*c*) Hall, fol. 205.

(*d*) Memoires de Philippe de Comines. Liv. 3. Chap. 4.—Dupleix, Tom. III. p. 62, 63.---Mezeray, Tom. III. p. 314.---Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 674.

Naval, and Military Force, which, bearing down all Reſiſtance from the *Flemings*, ſet ſail for *England*. Soon afterwards (*e*), the Troops landed, in two Diviſions; the One at *Plymouth*; and the Other, at *Dartmouth*; whilſt *Edward*, was in the *North*, attempting to ſuppreſs a Rebellion, excited by the Lord *Fitz-Hugh*, Brother-in-Law to *Warwick* (*f*). The Duke of *Burgundy* (whoſe Navy, ſcattered by a Tempeſt, was not in a Condition to purſue the Earl,) (*g*) had given Notice to *Edward*, of his impending Danger; and exhorted Him to accelerate thoſe Meaſures which were the moſt likely to avert it. But the King, who, although brave to an Extreme, was vain, confident, and thoughtleſs, affected to conſider *Warwick* as unworthy of his Notice; and, without preparing to reſiſt Him, abſurdly anſwered that He wiſhed for nothing more than to ſee Him diſembarked upon the *Engliſh* Coaſt (*h*).

The Popularity of *Warwick* (*i*), joined to the moſt fortunate Concurrence of Circumſtances in his Favour, made ſuch an Impreſſion upon the *Engliſh* that they flocked in Multitudes to his Standard, and, in a few Days, compoſed an Army of ſixty Thouſand Men. The Earl immediately gave Orders that *Henry*, the Sixth, ſhould be proclaimed King of *England*, and that his Subjects ſhould aſſiſt in the Expulſion of an Uſurper (*k*).

Edward, who, on the preſent Occaſion, was anxious to avoid a Battle, encamped at *Lynn*, a ſmall maritime Town, in *Norfolk*; and retiring within the Caſtle, di-

(*e*) September 13, 1471.

(*f*) Fabian, p. 500.---Hall, fol. 17, 18, 19.---Speed, p. 681.---P. de Comines, Tom. I. p. 154.

(*g*) P. de Comines, Liv. 3. Chap. 5.

(*h*) Ibid.---Hall, fol. 208.

(*i*) Hall, fol. 205.

(*k*) Ibid.

rected the Gates to be ſhut, and the Bridge ſtrongly guarded. At Midnight, the Army of the Earl of *Warwick* approached the Quarters of their Adverſaries, and, with loud Shouts, prepared for Action (*l*). Awakened by the Noiſe, the King ſtarted from his Bed, and enquiring into the Cauſe of it, was anſwered by his Chamberlain, the Lord *Haſtings*, that the Enemy were at Hand, and that He had no alternative but to periſh, or ſave Himſelf, by Flight. *Edward*, incapable of Reſiſtance, withdrew, immediately, by a private Paſſage from the Caſtle, and leaping on his Horſe, haſtened with a ſmall Retinue, to the Shore, where, ſome Ships being, fortunately, ready, He embarked (*m*), and, without Delay, ſet ſail for *Flanders*.

On the Paſſage, his Veſſels were deſcried, and chaſed, by a ſmall Squadron, belonging to the *Eaſterlings*, or *Hanſe* Towns, then at War with *France*, and *England*. From theſe Enemies, they eſcaped with Difficulty, and, at low Water, entered the Port of *Alcmaer*, in *Holland*. From thence, He proceeded to the *Hague*, where He waited for an Interview with the Duke of *Burgundy*. His Queen, on the Point of her Delivery, and ſurrounded by Diſtreſs, took Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter* (*n*). At this Place, was born (*o*) Prince *Edward*, the Heir, and, afterwards, the unfortunate Succeſſor to the Crown (*p*).

When the News of the Succeſs of the *Lancaſtrians* was confirmed to *Vauclair*, the Lieutenant Governor of *Calais*, He deſerted the Cauſe of *Edward*; and with every

(*l*) Hall, fol. 208.
(*m*) October 3, 1470.
(*n*) October 1, 1470.
(*o*) November 4, 1470.—Sandford, p. 425.
(*p*) Graſton, p. 688, 690.—Stowe, p. 422.—Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 267.—P. de Comines, Liv. 2. Chap. 5. Hall, folio 209.—Holingſhed, p. 1324.

every Demonſtration of Attachment to the Earl of *Warwick*, put the whole Garriſon in the Livery of that Lord (*q*), and received a Body of four Thouſand Troops, which were ordered to wait until a fit Opportunity ſhould preſent itſelf of joining the *French*, and invading the Provinces in the Low Countries (*r*).

On Notice of the Flight of *Edward*, *Warwick* haſtened to *London*, and releaſed *Henry* from the Tower. the Adherents to the Houſe of *York*, and amongſt them, *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*, were attainted. In their Executions, the victorious Party diſcovered a Degree of Lenity unuſual in the Revolutions of inteſtine War. The only Perſon of Rank who ſuffered on this Occaſion, was the accompliſhed *John Tibetot*, Earl of *Worceſter* (*s*). The Regency was entruſted to *Warwick*, and *Clarence*, until the Majority of Prince *Edward*, in Default of whoſe Iſſue, the Crown was entailed on *Clarence*, and his Heirs (*t*). All the Attainders of the Lancaſtrians, the Dukes of *Somerſet*, and *Exeter*, and the Earls of *Richmond*, *Pembroke*, *Oxford*, and *Ormond* were reverſed; and Whoſoever had been deprived either of Dignities, or Eſtates, for an Attachment to *Henry*, was reſtored to his Poſſeſſions.

The Duke of *Burgundy*, fearful of giving the leaſt Offence to the prevailing Party, and yet deſirous of relieving *Edward*, equipped, in the Names of private Individuals, four large Veſſels, at *Terveer*, a free Port, in *Zealand*. With equal Secrecy, He hired fourteen Ships

(*q*) Their Habits were ornamented with the Earl's Badge. White Croſſes, and ragged Staves, were alſo fixed on the Outſide of every Houſe.---Phil. de Comines, Liv. 3. Chap. 6.

(*r*) Hall, fol. 212.

(*s*) Hall, fol. 210.—Stowe, p. 442.

(*t*) Fabian, p. 501.—Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 677.---Speed, p. 681.

Ships from the *Eaſterlings*, to attend his Brother-in-Law to *England*, and cruize near the Coaſts, during a Fortnight after his Landing, in Order to conduct Him back, if the Failure of his Enterprize ſhould make it neceſſary. At the ſame Time, He preſented Him with fifty Thouſand Florins (*u*). *Edward*, now proceeded on his Voyage, "thus acting" (obſerves a Naval Writer (*x*), "like an *Engliſh* King, who ought rather, to "die in the Field, aſſerting his Right, than diſgrace "Himſelf, and his Subjects, by living long as an "Exile, in foreign Parts." Scarcely had *Edward* diſappeared, than the Duke of *Burgundy* iſſued a Proclamation, inhibiting, on Pain of Death, all the *Flemings* from giving Him the leaſt Countenance, or Aſſiſtance (*y*). An Artifice which could deceive neither *Party*; and might have drawn on him the future Reſentment of *that* which conquered.

Edward, whoſe whole Military Force did not amount to more than two Thouſand Men (*z*), intended to have landed in *Norfolk*, but was prevented by a *Storm*, which obliged Him, after beating ſome Days, at Sea, to run, with a ſmall Squadron, into the Port of *Ravenſpur*, in *Yorkſhire* (*a*), where, when He perceived that the People, prevented by the Magiſtrates, were not in Readineſs to join Him, He iſſued a Declaration (and even ſtrengthened it by the Solemnity of an Oath,) that He did not come to challenge the Crown, which He was contented to give up to *Henry*; but only to claim,

(*u*) Phil. de Comines, Liv. 3. Chap. 6.

(*x*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 294.

(*y*) Phil. de Comines, Liv. 3. Chap. 6.---P. Æmyle, p. 666.---Habington's Hiſt. of Ed. IV. in Kennet, V. 1. p. 447.

(*z*) Hall, fol. 24. b.—Stowe, p. 412.—Gaguin, Liv. 10. p. 260, 261.

(*a*) March 25, 1471.

claim, as Duke of *York*, the private (and unjuſtly confiſcated) Inheritance of his Family (*b*). Deceived by theſe Pretences, his Adherents flocked in Numbers to his Standard; and his Affairs became ſo proſperous, that, from a Confidence in his Army, He reſumed his Title to the Throne; and then, taking a different Road, paſſed the Troops of the Earl of *Warwick*, unmoleſted on his March to *London*, where the Gates were thrown open to receive Him, and *Henry*, once more the Sport of Fortune, was delivered up to Him, as a Peace-Offering, by *George Neville*, the faithleſs Brother of the Earl of *Warwick*, and Archbiſhop of *York*. *Edward* gave Orders that *Henry* ſhould be immediately committed to the Tower (*c*). The next Battle, fought at *Barnet* (*d*) was deciſive in Favour of King *Edward*. *Warwick*, and his Brother, the Marquiſs of *Montague*, were ſlain, in the thickeſt of the Engagement (*e*). About four Thouſand are ſuppoſed to have fallen, on both Sides (*f*). This Victory was followed by the Defeat of *Margaret*, and her Son, the Prince of *Wales*, at *Tewkſbury* (*g*), where the Latter was baſely murdered by the Dukes of *Clarence*, and *Glouceſter*, the Lord *Haſtings*, and Sir *Thomas Gray* (*h*).

Thus periſhed the Earl of *Warwick*, High Admiral of *England*, and known, from the Circumſtances of his Life, by the Appellation of *King-Maker* (*i*). The Naval,

(*b*) Stowe, p. 423.

(*c*) Grafton, p. 702.—Holinſhed, p. 1332.

(*d*) April 14, 1471.

(*e*) P. de Comines, Liv. 3. Chap. 7.

(*f*) Stowe, p. 423.—We follow the more moderate Accounts. Hall (folio 218) fixes the Number at ten Thouſand.

(*g*) May 4, 1471.

(*h*) Hall, folio 221.—Habington, folio 453.—Holingſhed, p. 688.—Polyd. Virgil, p. 530.—Stowe, p. 424.—Speed, p. 684.

(*i*) Fabian, p. 503, 504.—Hall, fol. 28, 29.---Grafton, p. 703, 704, 705.---Polyd. Virgil. Hiſt. Lib. 24.

Naval, and Military Bodies, to whom his Bravery, Generoſity, Magnificence, and Sincerity had endeared Him, were devoted to his Intereſts. Yet not Theſe alone, but the Whole People regarded Him with Affection. So extenſive was his Hoſpitality, that no leſs than thirty thouſand Perſons were entertained daily, at his Expence, within the different Manors, and Caſtles which He poſſeſſed in *England*. By theſe Retainers, his Will was conſidered as a Law, and more reverenced than the Orders of the King, or the Edicts of the Parliament. It is obſerved (*k*) that "He was the greateſt, as well as the Laſt of thoſe mighty Barons who "formerly over-awed the Crown, and rendered the "People incapable of any regular Syſtem of civil Go-"vernment."

In the mean Time, *Thomas Neville*, ſurnamed the Baſtard of *Fauconbridge*, and who had been appointed Vice Admiral of the Channel, during the Adminiſtration of the Earl of *Warwick*, availed himſelf of the Abſence of *Edward* from the Capital, and affecting to hold the Fleet for *Henry*, proceeded to the Commiſſion of ſeveral Acts of Piracy. Having formed a Deſign to ſurprize *London*, and enrich Himſelf by the Plunder of it, He ſailed towards the Mouth of the *Thames*, and, landing (*l*) with ſeventeen Thouſand Men, marched on to *Southwark*, which He reduced unmoleſted. A Part of his Troops were directed to croſs the River, and force their Paſſage through *Aldgate*, and *Biſhopſgate*. At the Head of the Remainder, He attempted to take Poſſeſſion of the Bridge; but the Citizens made ſo gallant a Reſiſtance, that He was compelled to retreat, after having loſt Numbers of his Troops (*m*). Information

(*k*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 3. p. 182.
(*l*) May 12, 1471.
(*m*) Hall, folio 33.---Speed, p. 685.

mation was now brought to Him that the King was marching to give him Battle, whereupon He turned back to *Sandwich*, and prepared for his Defence. The Royal Army, with *Edward* at their Head, proceeded to *Canterbury*, when *Fauconbridge* diſpatched a Meſſenger to acquaint Him that He was willing, on certain Terms, to ſubmit, and reſign the Fleet. The King not only granted his Requeſt, but knighted, and continued Him Vice-Admiral of the Channel. He did not long enjoy theſe Honours: Freſh Crimes were proved againſt Him, and He was led to Execution (*n*).

Edward, having, in ſome Meaſure, reſtored the Public Tranquility, and placed the Navy on a reſpectable Eſtabliſhment, determined to gratify his Reſentment, by an Expedition againſt the *French*, whoſe Sovereign, *Lewis* the Eleventh, was then at War with *Charles*, Duke of *Burgundy* (*o*). To the Aſſiſtance of the Latter, He departed from *England*, with a numerous Army, attended by a Fleet of five Hundred Sail, with which, in *July* of the Year, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Seventy-five, He entered the Road of *Calais*, and diſembarked the Troops. This Armament affords a Proof that the Marine of *England* had not fallen to Decay, even amidſt the Violence of inteſtine Tumults; as it muſt have been impoſſible, after a general Deſtruction of the Shipping, to equip, within ſo ſhort a Time, a Naval Force ſufficient for this Enterprize (*p*). This, probably, was a Part of that Fleet which, during the Quarrel between the Houſes of *York*, and *Lancaſter*, adhered to the Earl of *Warwick*.

On

(*n*) Stowe, p. 424.---Holingſhed, p. 1341.

(*o*) Phil. de Comines. Liv. 4. Chap. 5.---P. Æmyle, p. 669.---Gaguin, Liv. 10. p. 267.

(*p*) Fabian, p. 508.—Grafton, p. 719.—Cooper's Chronicle, folio 267, b.---Polydore Virgil, Lib. 24.

On his Arrival in *France*, *Edward* was mortified to perceive that the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Conſtable *de Saint Pol*, the chief Promoters of the War, were not in Readineſs to aſſiſt Him; and therefore, although his firſt Determination was to attempt the Conqueſt of the Kingdom, He deemed it more prudent to accede to Terms of Peace. Theſe were, that *Lewis* ſhould pay to *Edward*, within a Fortnight, from the Signing of the Treaty, the Sum of ſeventy-five thouſand Crowns, and from thenceforward, fifty thouſand Crowns, Yearly, at two Inſtallments, during the Lives of the two Kings: That He ſhould, alſo, promiſe to marry the *Dauphin*, his Son, to the King's eldeſt, or ſecond Daughter; and allow the Daughter-in-law ſixty Thouſand Livres a Year (*q*). On theſe Conditions, the Embaſſadors were empowered to promiſe, in the Name of *Edward*, that he would return to *England*, with his Troops (*r*).

Edward, juſtly ſenſible of the Advantages reſulting from a formidable Marine, applied a conſiderable part of his Penſion to its Equipment; and by maintaining Squadrons perpetually at Sea, ſo intimidated the King of *France*, that, for the Security of his own Dominions, He annually diſtributed immenſe Sums amongſt the *Engliſh* Privy Council (*s*). At this Period (*t*) the Naval, and Military Force of *Edward*, proceeded, under the Command of his Brother, the Duke of *Glouceſter*, on an Expedition againſt the King of *Scotland*, who, alarmed at the Appearance of ſo powerful a Fleet, offered

(*q*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 12. p. 17.

(*r*) Dupleix, Tom. 3. p. 87.---Mezeray, Tom. 3. p. 327, 328.---P. Daniel, Tom. 6. p. 461, 462, 463.---Phil. de Comines, Liv. 4.---Gaguin, Liv. 10.

(*s*) Fabian, p. 509.---Hall, fol. 46, 47 —Grafton.---Holingſhed.

(*t*) 1482.

fered to accept of any Propoſals of Peace which ſhould be made to him (*u*).

During the Abſence of *Glouceſter*, the Proſperity, and with it, the Popularity of *Edward*, had been diminiſhed by a Series of unfortunate, and diſgraceful Circumſtances. The Duke of *Clarence* had, not without ſtrong Suſpicions of Injuſtice, been tried, condemned, and executed. The People beheld, alſo, with Diſpleaſure, and Uneaſineſs, the Conduct of the King, who had refuſed to ſend any Succours to the *Flemings*, the natural Allies of the *Engliſh*, and from whom they annually gained large Sums, by the Balance of Trade. Add to all this, that it became every Day, more and more apparent, that *Lewis* never intended to fulfil the moſt eſſential Conditions of the laſt Peace, and in particular, That, relating to the Marriage of the *Dauphin*, with the Princeſs *Elizabeth*. At this laſt Breach of Faith, *Edward* was ſo irritated, and alarmed, that He reſolved to ſeize the earlieſt Opportunity of waging War againſt the *French*.

On this Occaſion, He deemed it more prudent to confide in the Strength of his Naval Armaments, than in the Promiſes of his Allies. How little they were entitled to Dependance, ſeemed evident to the diſappointed *Edward*, from the Perfidy of the Emperor *Maximilian*, who, notwithſtanding that a powerful Squadron had been ſent, under the Command of Sir *John Middleton*, to his Aſſiſtance, made a Peace, and entered into a cloſe Union with *France*, not only againſt the Inclinations, but even without the Knowledge of King of *England* (*x*). The Aſſiduity with which *Edward*

(*u*) Stowe, p. 432.---Speed, 689.---Leſlæi de Rebus geſtis Scotorum, Lib. 8. p. 321, 322.---Buchanan, Lib. 12, p. 399, 400.

(*x*) Grafton, p. 743.---Stowe, p. 431.---Speed, p. 689.---Corps diplomatique du Droit des Gens, Tom. III. Part 11. p. 100.---Rapin, Folio, V. 1. p. 625.

Edward prepared for War, and his indefatigable Attention to the Concerns of the Marine, proved ſo pleaſing to his Subjects, that they appeared ready, and even deſirous to join in the Expences of the War. But when the Preparations for this important Expedition were on the Point of being concluded, *Edward* was ſeized with a Diſtemper, of which He expired (*y*) in the forty-ſecond Year of his Age, and the twenty-third of his Reign (*z*).

The *French* Writers (*a*) have abſurdly affirmed that He died of Grief, becauſe *Elizabeth*, his eldeſt Daughter, whom (after the Ratification of the Treaty of *Amiens*,) He always ſtiled the Dauphineſs of *France*, had not been married to the Son of *Lewis* the Eleventh. We muſt, however except an Hiſtorian (*b*) who candidly acknowledges that the Death of *Edward* was a great Deliverance to *France*, and freed Her from the Terror of beholding once again, an *Engliſh* Army, under a victorious King, proceeding to the Gates of *Paris*.

It is probable that if the warlike Operations of *Edward* had been conducted on the Ocean, We ſhould have found Him, as in the Field, brave, yet cruel; and enterprizing, but imprudent. It hath been obſerved that He formed juſt ideas of Naval Power, and of the Conſequences of an extenſive Commerce (*c*). He ſupported the firſt, throughout the whole Courſe of his Reign, and encouraged the Laſt with more Zeal than could

(*y*) April 9, 1483.

(*z*) Hall, fol. 59, 60, 61.—Grafton, p. 755.—Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 286. b.—Polydore Virgil, Lib. 24.

(*a*) Dupleix, Tom. III. p. 130.—P. Daniel, Tom. VI. p. 551, 552.—Le Gendre, Tom. IV. p. 106, 107.

(*b*) Mezeray Abrege de l'Hiſtoire de France, Tom. III. p. 346.

(*c*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 299.

could have been expected from a Prince engaged in civil Tumults, and ſtruggling for his Life and Crown. His Treaties with *Denmark*, *Burgundy*, the *Hanſe* Towns, and with *Henry*, King of *Caſtile* (*d*), were equally beneficial to the Merchants, and to the People.

Few grievous Taxes were drawn from the *Engliſh*, during the Reigns of the Monarchs of the Houſe of *York*. In the Year, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Seventy-four, the Parliament granted to *Edward* a Tenth of Rents, or two Shillings in the Pound. This is remarked to have been very inaccurately levied, ſince it produced only thirty-one Thouſand, four Hundred, and ſixty Pounds (*e*). To this Supply was added a whole Fifteenth, and three Quarters of Another (*f*).

The Spirit of the People ſufficiently diſcovered itſelf, on this Occaſion, by a Parliamentary Clauſe which enacted, that the Money levied by the Fifteenth ſhould not be paid into the Hands of the King, but kept in religious Houſes, that it might be immediately refunded to the People, in Caſe the Expedition againſt *France*, for the Purpoſes of which it was raiſed, ſhould not be undertaken (*g*). *Edward*, who either perceived that theſe Supplies were inſufficient, or converted them to other Uſes, deviſed a new Expedient of obtaining Money, by *Benevolence* (*h*). He addreſſed, in Perſon, the moſt opulent of his Subjects, and, frankly deſired that they would lend Him as much as they could ſpare. All contributed; ſome chearfully; Others, not until they were ſeduced by the Flattery of the Petitioner; and the Reſt, becauſe they were apprehenſive that a Refuſal

(*d*) 1466, and 1467.
(*e*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 3. p. 263.
(*f*) Cotton, p. 696, 700—Hiſt. Croyl. Contin. p. 558.
(*g*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 3. p. 263.
(*h*) Hall, folio 226.

might expoſe them to his Reſentment. Thus, although the Conſent of the Parties was pretended to have been gained, it could not be deemed intirely voluntary (*i*). Yet, much of his Succeſs was owing to the Beauty of his Form, and that graceful Air of Gallantry, by which He won the Favour of the Ladies. It is related that accoſting, with a familiar Politeneſs, a young Widow, of conſiderable Fortune, and deſiring to be indebted to her Generoſity, He was anſwered: "Yes! "My Liege! for the Sake of that ſweet, and comely "Face, You ſhall have twenty Pounds." Pleaſed with this Teſtimony of her Attachment, He kiſſed his Benefactreſs; and She, not leſs delighted, preſented Him with twice the Sum (*k*).

In the third Year of *Edward*, the Fourth (*l*), an Ordinance paſſed, directing that all Bullion of Gold, and Silver, paid for Merchandize at the Staple, ſhould be coined at the Mint of *Calais*. An accurate, and indefatigable Hiſtorian, whoſe Works are deſervedly eſteemed, appears to have been miſtaken, when He remarked (*m*) that "this King cauſed a new Coin to be "made whereby He gained much; for He made an "old *Noble* a *Royal*, which He commanded to go for "Ten Shillings. Nevertheleſs, to the ſame *Royal* was "put Eight-Pence of Allay; and ſo it weighed the "more by Eight-Pence, being ſmitten with a new "Stamp. He, likewiſe, made *Half-Angels*, of five "Shillings: and Farthings of two Shillings, and Six-"pence; *Angelets* of ſix Shillings, and Eight-Pence; "and *Half-Angelets* of three Shillings, and Four-Pence. "He

(*i*) Habington, p. 461.—Grafton, p. 719.—Fabian, fol. 221.—Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 3. p. 263.
(*k*) Hall, fol. 226.
(*l*) St. 3. Ed. IV. Cap. 1.
(*m*) Stowe's Chron. p. 418, 419.

"He made ſilver Money of Three-Pence a Groat, "and ſo, of other Coins, after that Rate, to the "great Harm of the Commons." A learned Antiquarian (*n*), hath clearly diſproved this Aſſertion, and by a Reference to the Indentures, ſhewn that this Alteration was not introduced by *Edward*, the Fourth, but iſſued from his Predeceſſor (*o*).

By an Indenture of the fourth Year of this King, a Pound-Weight of Gold, of the old Standard, was to make by Tale, twenty Pounds, ſixteen Shillings, and Eight-Pence; and a Pound-Weight of Silver, old Sterling, was to make Thirty-ſeven Shillings, and Sixpence. By other Indentures of the fifth, eighth, eleventh, ſixteenth, and twenty-ſecond Years of the Reign of *Edward*, the Fourth, a Pound-Weight of Gold, of the old Standard, was to make Forty-five Nobles, going for ten Shillings, Each, or ninety Half-Nobles, or one hundred, and eighty Quarter-Nobles, or Sixty-ſeven, and a half of the Pieces impreſſed with Angels, going for ſix Shillings, and Eight-Pence, Each, and conſequently were coined into Twenty-two Pounds, and ten Shillings, by Tale: The ſilver Monies were ſhorn at Thirty-ſeven Shillings and Sixpence, the Pound-Weight Troy. Theſe Indentures were made between the King, and his Chamberlain, the Lord *Haſtings*, Maſter, Worker, and Warden of all his Exchanges, and Outchanges in *England*, and *Calais*. The Groats of *Edward*, the Fourth, were more than twenty Grains lighter than thoſe of *Edward* the Third. The *Iriſh* Groats fall ſhort of the *Engliſh* Groats, near ten Grains; and it was during this Period that the firſt Difference aroſe between the Standards of the *Engliſh*, and *Iriſh* Money. The Mints for the

(*n*) Biſhop Nicholſon's Hiſtorical Library, Folio, p. 260.
(*o*) Lowndes's Eſſay, p. 40, 41.

Coinage of the Laſt were withdrawn from other Places, and confined ſolely to *Dublin*, *Drogheda*,, and *Waterford*. A Difference between the Coins of the two Kingdoms were preſerved during the ſucceeding Reigns, an *Iriſh* Shilling paſſing in *England* only for Nine-Pence. The Value of the other Coins ſunk in the ſame Proportion (*p*).

With Regard to Land, (in the Value of which Commerce is materially concerned) We find an Inſtance of its being ſold, at this Period, for about ten Years Purchaſe. In the Proclamation (*q*) againſt the Duke of *Clarence*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, *Edward* offered a Reward of a thouſand Pounds, or a hundred Pounds, a-Year, in Land, to any Perſons that would ſeize them (*r*).

In the Reign of *Edward*, the Fourth, ſeveral Laws were paſſed for the Encouragement of Trade; and extenſive Privileges were confirmed, by Charter, to the *Engliſh* Merchants ſettled in the *Netherlands* (*s*). By ſome of our Hiſtorians, the King hath been cenſured for permitting Sheep to be tranſported out of *Herefordſhire*, into *Spain*, from whence (they obſerve,) aroſe that Plenty of fine Wool, for which this Country hath been ſince renowned. The Aſſertion is more vain than juſt. That the *Spaniſh* Wool was, long before this Period, in great Requeſt, appears from the Authority, given, in Conſequence of their Petition, to the Weavers of *Lon-*

(*p*) Sir John Davis's Reports —Caſe of mixed Money.—Selden. Tit. of Hon. Part 1. Chap. 8. p. 135.—Stat. 17. Ed. IV. Cap. 1.—Bibl. Cotton. M S. Tiberius II. 1.—Madox's Hiſtory of the Exchequer.—Rapin's Hiſtory of England, V. 5. 8vo. p. 128, 129.—Biſhop Nicholſon's Hiſtorical Library, Folio, p. 260, 261, 262.

(*q*) 1470.

(*r*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 11. p. 654.

(*s*) Hackluyt.

London (*t*), that wherever they could diſcover Cloth entirely fabricated of *Spaniſh* Wool, or even with a Mixture of *Spaniſh* Wool, they might carry it to the *Lord-Mayor*, who was to cauſe it to be burnt (*u*) The prevailing Notion amongſt the *Engliſh* of that Age was, that without their Wool, the beſt Cloths could not be made: and, indeed, if there had been no Excellence in their Fleece, ſome of our Sheep would ſcarcely have proved fit Preſents from one Sovereign to Another (*x*).

A little Treatiſe (preſerved in *Hackluyt* (*y*),) intituled "*De Politia Conſervativa Maris*," and written in Rhyme, contains a circumſtantial Account of the State of Commerce, about the Middle of the fifteenth Century. The Author is unknown; although Mention be made of his Patron, the accompliſhed Baron of *Hungerford* (*z*), who examined, and approved of the Work. To each Chapter is prefixed a particular Title. That to the Introduction is as follows:

"Here beginneth the Prologue of the Proceſſe of "the Libel of ENGLISH POLICIE, exhorting all ENG-"LAND to keep the SEA, and namely, the NARROW "SEA: ſhewing what Profit cometh thereof, and alſo "what Worſhip, and Salvation to ENGLAND, and to "all ENGLISHMEN."

In this Introduction, the Writer demonſtrates how uſeful, and neceſſary it is that *England* ſhould preſerve the Dominion of the Sea. He adds, that the Emperor *Sigiſmond* who, in the Year, one Thouſand four Hun-

(*t*) 31 Hen. II.

(*u*) Hall's Chronicle, under the Reign of *Edward* the Fourth, fol. 7. Edit. 1550—Grafton, p. 668.

(*x*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 309, 310.

(*y*) Collection of Voyages, V. 1. p. 187.

(*z*) Beheaded at Saliſbury, 1466.—Stowe's Annals, p. 419.

dred, and Sixteen, paid a Viſit to *Henry*, the Fifth, and afterwards accompanied Him into *France*, adviſed that Prince to keep the two Towns of *Dover*, and *Calais*, as carefully as he would his Eyes. The Author next explains the Device on the *Noble*, a gold Coin, firſt ſtricken in the eighteenth Year of the Reign of *Edward*, the Third; beginning thus:

"For, foure Things our NOBLE ſheweth unto Me,
"King, Ship, and Sword, and Power of the Sea (*a*)."

The next Chapter contains a very clear, and exact Account of the Commodities of *Spain* and *Flanders*, and of the Commerce between thoſe Countries, neither of which (it is remarked,) could ſubſiſt without the other. The Writer's main Point, which He urges very ſenſibly, is that the *Spaniſh* Wool cannot be wrought by the *Flemings* without a Mixture of *Engliſh* Wool; and, beſides this, that from their Situations, the Trade between theſe two Countries muſt be altogether precarious, if Both were not at Peace with *England*. The *Low-Countries* were, then, what the *United Provinces* were, in the laſt Age, the Center of the Commerce of *Europe*; and, therefore, while *Calais*, as well as *Dover* were in our Hands, that Commerce could not be carried on, but by our Permiſſion, which was expreſſed by the gold *Noble* of *Edward* (*b*).

In the ſecond Chapter the Author treats of the Commodities, and Trade of *Portugal*, obſerving that its Inhabitants were always our Friends; and that an advantageous Trade had ever ſubſiſted between the two Nations, the Stream of which (He complains,) began to be turned into *Flanders*. He next mentions the Commerce

(*a*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 310.
(*b*) Ibid. p. 311.

merce carried on by the People of *Bretagne*; and then, deſcribing their Piracies, exclaims ſeverely at the Outrages which they were accuſtomed to commit on the *Engliſh* Coaſts, and particularly on the Maritime Towns of *Norfolk*. He concludes this Subject with the following Relation. The Merchants repreſented to *Edward*, the Third, that notwithſtanding the Peace between Him, and the Duke of *Bretagne*, their Veſſels were taken by the Privateers of that Province. When the King remonſtrated, by his Ambaſſadors, againſt theſe Hoſtilities, He was anſwered that the Privateers belonged to the Ports of Saint *Michael*, and Saint *Malo*, the which, although within his Dominions, were not under his Obedience, being inhabited by a ſort of People, who would do what they pleaſed. *Edward*, now, ordered the Complainants to avenge themſelves, and permitted the Merchants, and Mariners of *Dartmouth*, *Plymouth* and *Fowey*, to fortify their Towns; and, equpping Privateers, to cruize upon the Coaſts of *Bretagne*. This Expedient anſwered his Purpoſe; and ſo diſtreſſed the Subjects of the Duke, that to deliver Himſelf from thoſe formidable Enemies who infeſted his Harbours, He promiſed that the lawleſs Towns ſhould be no more permitted to annoy the *Engliſh* (*c*).

The Commodities of *Scotland*, Hides, Felts, and Wool, and her Commerce with *Flanders*, make the Subject of the fourth Chapter. He ſhews that the *Scotch* Wool was then in the ſame (that is, as low) Eſteem as the *Spaniſh* Wool, and unfit to be wrought without a Mixture of *Engliſh* Wool; for the Truth of which He appeals to the Knowledge, and Experience of the Manufacturers, and Merchants, adding that they well knew in what School, He was taught theſe Secrets. He

(*c*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 312.

further obſerves that houſehold Stuff, Haberdaſhery, and all Utenſils of Huſbandry, even to Cart-Wheels, and Wheel-Barrows were, by the *Scotch* Ships, carried Home, in Return for their Staple Commodities: From whence, He infers that *England*, being poſſeſſed of the Sovereignty of the narrow Seas, and a ſuperior Naval Force, may, at any Time, awe *Spain*, and *Scotland*, by the Interruption of that Commerce, without which they could not ſubſiſt (*d*).

In the fifth Chapter, He deſcribes the Trade of *Pruſſia*, *Germany*, the *Hanſe* Towns, and the inland Countries, dependent upon them. The Articles of Commerce amongſt the *Genoeſe* employ the ſixth Chapter; whence it appears that, at this Æra, they traded to *Africa*, and to the *Indies*, exporting thither, in large Veſſels, called Carracks, Wool, and woollen Commodities, and importing from thence, the different Merchandizes of the Country. Next, follows the Trade of *Venice*, and *Florence*, to which the Author ſeems no great Friend, as ſuppoſing that the Balance thereon was conſiderably in their Favour, and that the Articles bought of them were mere inſtruments of Luxury. In this Chapter the Writer zealouſly endeavours to expoſe the Advantages which Foreigners had, in Trade, over the Natives of *England*, and the Frauds committed by the *Italian* Bankers, and Factors, reſident within the Kingdom (*e*).

The Trade of *Flanders* takes up the eighth Chapter, wherein great Complaints are made of the Inſolence of Ships belonging to the *Hanſe* Towns, and of the Folly of *Engliſh* Merchants, who lent their Names to cover the Goods of Foreigners, imported hither. In the ninth

(*d*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 312.
(*e*) Ibid. p. 313.

ninth Chapter, We find a copious, and exact Account of the Commodities, and Commerce of *Ireland*, except that the Author ſpeaks confidently of Gold, and Silver being found in that Kingdom; an Aſſertion which Time hath not verified. Towards the Concluſion, is introduced a Project concerted by the Earl of *Ormond*, and ſuggeſting that if the Expence of one Year in the Maintenance of *French* Wars, were employed in the Reduction of *Ireland*, it would anſwer the Purpoſe effectually, and produce a conſiderable Profit, annually, to the *Engliſh* Nation. Yet this, as the Writer complains, was ſlighted from Views of private Profit, to the great Detriment of the Public (*f*).

The Trade carried on to *Iceland*, from *Scarborough*, and of later Years, from *Briſtol*, to the ſame Place, is deſcribed in the tenth Chapter, at the Cloſe of which the Author diſcourſes concerning the Importance of *Calais*. In the eleventh Chapter, He deſcants on the Naval Power of *Edgar*, and the mighty Fleets of *Edward* the Third, and *Henry* the Fifth, who (He obſerves,) built larger and ſtronger Ships than any of their Predeceſſors (*g*).

The twelfth and laſt Chapter is a conciſe Recapitulation of the principal Matters treated of in the foregoing Parts of the Work, and concludes with a pathetic Exhortation to *Engliſh* Stateſmen, thoroughly to conſider the Importance of theſe Points; and eſpecially of that which regards the Maintenance of the Sovereignty of the *Engliſh* on the Sea, and muſt contribute the moſt eſſentially to the Peace, Plenty, and Proſperity of the Iſland (*h*).

We

(*f*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 313.
(*g*) Ib. 1, p. 314.
(*h*) Ibid.

We ſhall drop the Subject, with the Obſervations of a Naval Writer, (*i*) to whoſe Reſearches We are indebted for the Account of this inſtructive Treatiſe.

"One cannot help wondering, on the Peruſal of this Piece, that no Pains have ever been taken to make it more uſeful, by re-publiſhing it, either in modern Verſe, or as it now ſtands, with Notes; ſince it is evidently written with equal Science, and Spirit; ſo that it is not eaſy to ſay, whether it gives us a better Idea of the Author's Head, or Heart. Beſides, it is a full Proof that Trade was, then, a very extenſive, and important Concern; which will appear more clearly to the Reader, if He conſiders the different Value of Money, then, and now."

"It likewiſe ſhews that the Reaſon, and Grounds of our Naval Dominion were then as thoroughly underſtood, and as clearly, and plainly aſſerted as ever they have been ſince: which is the Reaſon that Mr. *Selden* cites this Book as a remarkable Authority, both in Point of Argument, and Antiquity (*k*). But We are now coming into brighter Times, wherein that Spirit of Commerce, which this Author ſo earneſtly wiſhed for, began really to appear; and when there ſeemed to be a Conteſt between private Men, and Thoſe in Adminiſtration, who ſhould ſerve the Public moſt: A Spirit to which We owe our *preſent* Correſpondence with all Parts of the World, our potent, and ſtately Fleet, and, in particular, our *numerous Plantations, the chief Support of our maritime Strength, as well as the moſt conſiderable Branch of our Trade ſtill remaining* (*l*)."

The

(*i*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 314.

(*k*) Mare Clauſum, Lib. 2. C. 25.

(*l*) The Likeneſs in the latter Part of the Picture, which was drawn at the Beginning of this Reign, is now, perhaps, irreco-

The Occurrences, during the Reigns of *Edward*, the Fifth, and *Richard*, the Third, are in general, foreign to our Subject. Let it be ſufficient to obſerve that this laſt Prince diſcovered the Prudence of his Conduct, when He ſtationed, near the Coaſts, a Fleet ſo powerful, that *Henry*, Earl of *Richmond*, perceiving that it was impracticable to land, without engaging, judged it neceſſary to avoid a Battle, and bore away to *Dieppe*, where He ſafely arrived, and from thence, paſſed into *Bretagne* (*m*). The Folly of *Richard* was equally conſpicuous, when, becauſe the Enemy had retired, He ordered the Ships to be unrigged, and laid up within the Harbours (*n*), as if after eſcaping one Danger, He meant to invite a greater (*o*).

We now preſent the Reader with

A LIST of thoſe Perſons who have either been advanced to the Rank of LORD HIGH ADMIRAL, or enjoyed that Command, under any other Title, or Denomination, from the Acceſſion of HENRY the FOURTH, to the Death of RICHARD the THIRD (*p*).

ADMIRALS *of the*

NORTH.	WEST.
2 Hen. IV. *R. Gray*, Baron of *Codenore*.	Sir *Thomas Reniſtan*.

5 Hen.

irrecoverably loſt. Every virtuous *Engliſhman* muſt be anxious for the Union of *America*, with his Country. The Good of both Parties are truly to be pitied. They wiſh, and They deſpair.

(*m*) Campbell, (V. 1. p. 304.) from Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 745.—Argentre Hiſtoire de Bretagne, Liv. 12.—Mezeray, Tom. IV. p. 357.—P. Daniel, Tom. VI. p. 601.

(*n*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 304.

(*o*) Ibid.

(*p*) Spelman.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, Folio, V. 1. p. 131.

5 Hen. IV. *Thom. Beaufort*, Brother of *John Beaufort*, Marquis of *Dorset*. *Thomas*, Ld. *Berkley*,

Nicholas Blackburn, Esq. *Richard Childerhow*, Esq.

ADMIRALS *of* ENGLAND, &c.

6 Hen. IV. *Thomas* of *Lancaster*, the Son of King *Henry* IV. Viceroy of *Ireland*, High Steward of *England*; afterwards Duke of *Clarence*, Admirallus utriusque Partis. (Admiral in every Sation.)

8 The above-mentioned *John Beaufort*, Earl of *Somerset*, Admirallus Angliæ. (Admiral of *England*.)

8 *Edmund Holland*, Earl of *Kent*, Admirallus Angliæ. (Admiral of *England*.)

9 The above-mentioned *Thomas Beaufort*, Admirallus Angliæ. (Admiral of *England*.)

4 Hen. VI. *John* of *Lancaster*, Duke of *Bedford*, Earl of *Richmond* and *Candale*, High Constable of *England*, Son of King *Henry* IV. Admirallus Angliæ. (Admiral of *England*.)

14 *John Holland*, Duke of *Exon*, Earl of *Huntingdon*, constituted, together with his Son, Admirals of *England*, *Ireland*, and *Aquitain*, for Life.

25 *William de la Poole*, Marquis and Earl of *Suffolk*, made Admiral of *England*, *Ireland*, and *Aquitain*, during the Minority of *Henry*, Duke of *Exon*; who, with his Father, had that Office, by the King's

King's Grant, *ad terminum Vitæ eorum, &c.* (for the Term of both their Lives.)

28 *Henry Holland*, Duke of *Exon*, Admiral of *England*, *Ireland*, and *Aquitain*.

1 Edw. IV. *Richard Nevil*, Earl of *Warwick* and *Saliſbury*, Admiral of *England*, *Ireland*, and *Aquitain*.

2 *William Nevil*, Earl of *Kent*, and Baron *Falconberg*, Admiral of *England*, *Ireland*, and *Aquitain*.

2 Edw. IV. *Richard*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, Brother to the King, Admiral of *England*, *Ireland*, and *Aquitain*.

42 Hen. VI. *Richard Nevil*, Earl of *Warwick*, and *Saliſbury*, Captain of the Town and Caſtle of *Calais*, Conſtable of the Caſtle of *Dover*, and Guardian of the *Cinque Ports*, Admiral, as above.

11 Edw. IV. *Richard*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, aforeſaid, conſtituted Admiral, as above.

1 Rich. III. *John Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, Admiral of *England*, *Ireland*, and *Aquitain*.

MEMOIRS

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

The THIRD PERIOD.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY THE SEVENTH, TO THE DEMISE OF MARY THE FIRST.

THE Battle of *Boſworth* (*a*) in which the Royal Forces not only loſt their Sovereign, but were totally defeated, at once ſecured the advancement of the Earl of *Richmond* to the Throne. The Camp of the Victorious Army reſounded, on every Side, with the Acclamations of *Long live Henry the Seventh* (*b*)! At the ſame Moment, Sir *William Stanley*, having diſcovered the Crown of *Richard* amongſt the Spoils, advanced with it towards the Conqueror, and placed it on his Head (*c*). An Inquiry concerning his Title

(*a*) Auguſt 22, 1485.

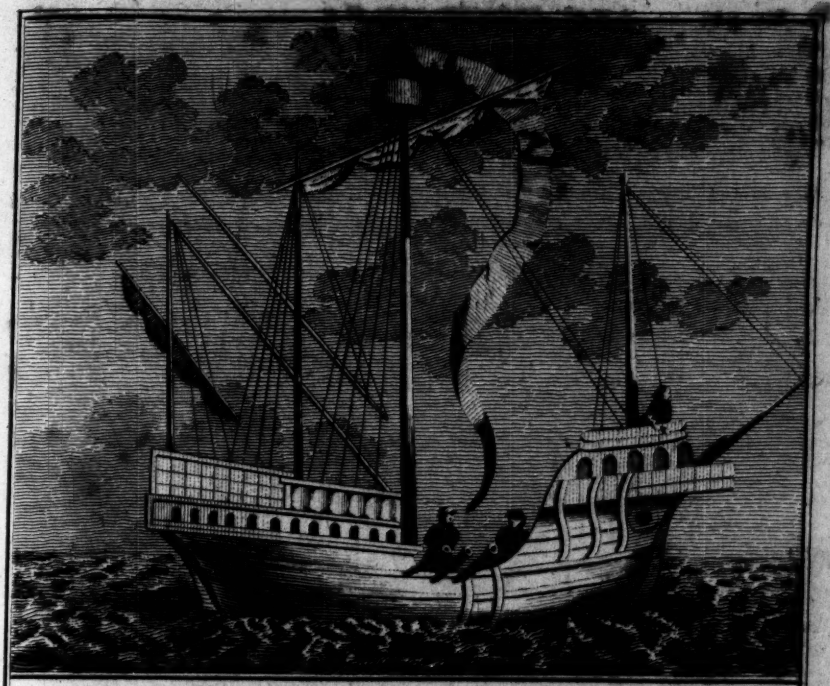
(*b*) Bacon, V. 2. Edit. 1753. p. 268, &c.

(*c*) Hall, fol. 34.—Grafton, p. 852.—Stowe, p. 470.—Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 760, 779.—Dugdale's Baronage, V. 2. p. 248.

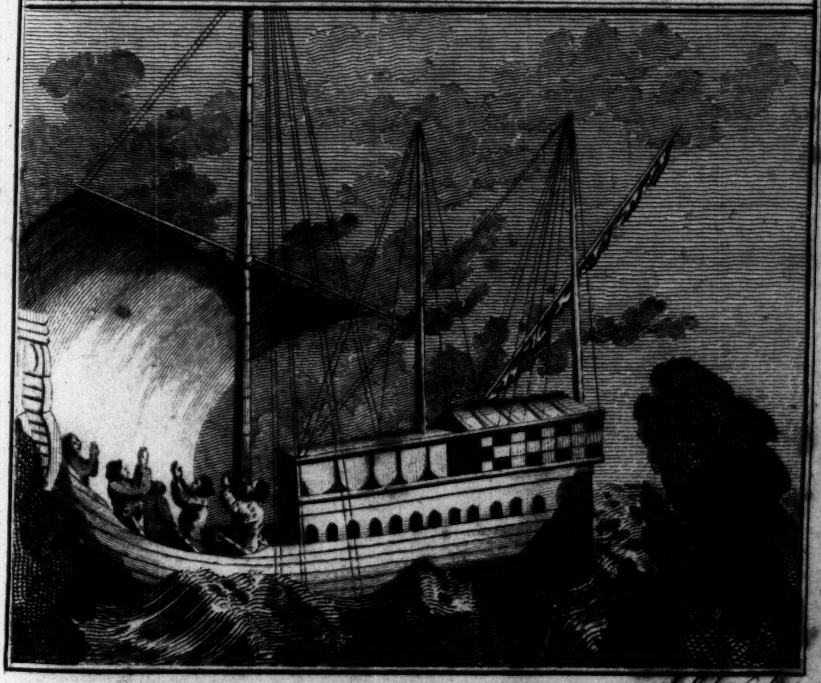
Title to the Regal Power is foreign to our Subject. We ſhall only remark that He did not heſitate to accept of it, and proceeded immediately, by ſlow Journies, towards the Capital. Here, He found the Citizens, and People, unanimous in their Expreſſions of Satisfaction, and Allegiance. On the Day following (*d*), He ſolemnly renewed his Oath to marry the Princeſs *Elizabeth*; and ſoon afterwards (*e*), the Ceremony of his Coronation was performed by *Thomas Bourchier*, a Cardinal, and Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (*f*).

The firſt material Naval Tranſaction of this Reign occurs in the Year, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Ninety-two, when a conſiderable Fleet was equipped for the Purpoſe of tranſporting to *France*, the Troops which were to invade that Kingdom. The chief Motive which led *Henry* to engage in this War aroſe from his unbounded Avarice, to the Gratification of which the Parliament, and the Citizens of *London* adminiſtered by liberal Supplies, and Contributions. He croſſed the Seas, and, on the ſixth of October, arrived at *Calais*, with an Army amounting to twenty Thouſand Foot, and ſixteen Hundred Horſe, the Command of which was given to the Duke of *Bedford*, and the Earl of *Oxford*. Not to fatigue the Reader by unneceſſary Details, We ſhall only obſerve that *Henry*, whilſt He openly profeſſed his Determination to carry on the War, with Vigour, prevailed ſecretly on the Marquiſs of *Dorſet*, and Twenty-three Perſons of Diſtinction, to preſent to him a Petition for ſubmitting to an Accommodation, with *France*; in Conſequence of which the Biſhop of *Exeter*, and Lord *D'Aubeney* were ordered to meet the *Mareſchal de Corbes*, *et Eſtaples*, and adjuſt the

(*d*) Saturday, Auguſt 27, 1485.
(*e*) October 30, 1485.
(*f*) Hall, folio 3.



The Ship of Henry VII.



A Ship in a Storm.

BRITISH
9 AP 75
MUSEUM

the Terms of the Peace. To the Demands of *Henry*, which were ſolely applied to the Acquiſition of Money, the King of *France* immediately agreed; binding Himſelf to pay ſeven hundred, and forty-five thouſand Crowns (*g*), partly as a Reimburſement of the Sums advanced to *Britanny*, and partly as Arrears of the Penſion due to *Edward*, the Fourth; and He alſo ſtipulated to *Henry* and his Heirs, an Annuity of twenty-five thouſand Crowns (*h*). Thus, (to borrow the Language of his Hiſtorian (*i*),) the King made Profit upon his Subjects for the War; and upon his Enemies for the Peace. On the ſeventeenth of December, *Henry* returned to *London* (*k*).

In the ſame Year, *Maximilian*, the Arch-Duke, applied to the King for Aid againſt the *Count de Ravenſtein*, who, breaking out into Rebellion, had perſuaded the Citizens of *Ghent*, and *Bruges* to riſe in his Support. Having reduced the Town of *Sluys*, He equipped a conſiderable Number of Ships, and Barks, with which, infeſting the Seas, He took ſuch Veſſels as were unable to reſiſt Him. Not led by a Reſpect for any Nation to withhold his Piracies, He had attacked, and plundered ſeveral of the *Engliſh* Merchantmen. On this Account alone, it was the Intereſt of *Henry* to arm in the Defence of *Maximilian*. A Motive ſtill more powerful was the Expediency of enabling this Prince to oppoſe the *French*; at that Period, the common Enemies of Both. Accordingly, a Squadron conſiſting of twelve Ships, ſupplied with Men, and Ammunition, was ordered to proceed under the Command of Sir *Edward*

(*g*) Nearly four hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling of our preſent Money.

(*h*) Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. 12. p. 497.

(*i*) Bacon, p. 605.

(*k*) Hall, fol. 12.—Speed, p. 736.

Poynings, to *Sluys*. On his Arrival, He was informed that the Elector of *Saxony* had marched, at the Head of his Army, to the Aſſiſtance of *Maximilian*, and was preparing to inveſt the Place, by Land. The Military Operations were ſeconded by *Poynings*, from the Sea. The chief Strength of *Sluys* conſiſted in two Caſtles; and, theſe He attacked during the Space of twenty Days, whilſt they were gallantly defended by the Beſieged, Numbers of whom periſhed in the Actions. At length, availing Himſelf of the Darkneſs of the Night, He ſet Fire to a Bridge of Boats, which ſerved as a Communication from one of the Caſtles, to the Other. This Accident ſo terrified the Enemy, that they ſurrendered the Town to the Elector, and the Caſtles to the *Engliſh* (*l*).

At the Cloſe of the Year, one Thouſand, and Ninety-five, the Arch-Duke *Philip*, to whom the Government of the Low-Countries had been reſigned by *Maximilian*, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Henry*, with Inſtructions to negotiate a Renewal of the Commerce, between *England*, and the *Flemings*. The Treaty was concluded in the February following; and by one Article, it was enacted that no Veſſels wrecked on the Coaſts of either of the two Princes, ſhould be liable to Confiſcation, provided any living Creature whatſoever were to be found on Board (*m*).

About the ſame Period, *Henry* entered into a League with the King of *Denmark*, whereby He ſecured to his Subjects, and particularly to the Inhabitants of *Briſtol*, the Trade to *Iceland*, in the Enjoyment of which they had, not long before, ſuffered ſome alarming Interruptions. On this Occaſion, it was ſtipulated that the *Engliſh* ſhould, unmoleſted by the *Danes*, be permitted to

(*l*) Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 781.
(*m*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 12. p. 695, 713.

to ſupply that Iſland with all kinds of Proviſion, coarſe Cloth, and other Commodities. This was an eſpecial Privilege not granted to any other Nation; neither, perhaps, could it have been obtained, if the Trade of *Denmark* had not languiſhed under a conſiderable Decreaſe. The Care of theſe Tranſactions proved the Means of introducing to *Henry*, Sir *John Cabot*, who, in his Service, firſt diſcovered the Continent of *America*, and that Country which is now called *Newfoundland* (*n*). Of this celebrated *Venetian*, We ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak, hereafter.

On the Twenty-ſecond of April, in the Year, one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Nine, *Henry* expired of a Conſumption, at his Palace of *Richmond*, after a Reign of Twenty-three Years, and eight Months, and in the Fifty-ſecond Year of his Age (*o*). On his Death-Bed, He mentioned, with the bittereſt Remorſe thoſe Oppreſſions to which his Subjects, the guiltleſs Victims of the Rapacity of his Diſpoſition, had been perpetually expoſed; and, by a Clauſe within his Will, directed that the fulleſt Reſtitution ſhould be made to All whom He had injured.

We now preſent the Reader with a brief Detail of thoſe Circumſtances which may enable him to form a Judgment of the Conduct of *Henry*, ſo far as it relates to the Subjects of this Work.

Avarice, the Maſter-Paſſion of this King (and not a real Inclination to promote that Kind of Commerce, from the unfettered Proſperity of which, the Adventur-

(*n*) Foed. Dan. 11 Hen. VII. Art. 4. quod in Tabulâ Legationis MDCII. etiam habemus.—Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XII. p. 381.—Seldeni Mare Clauſum. Lib. 2. Cap. 32.

(*o*) Dugdale's Baronage, V. 2. p. 237.—Hall, fol. 60. b.—Grafton, p. 947, 948.—Stowe.—Holingſhed.—Speed.—Lord Bacon's Life of Henry, p. 353.

ers in it might reap, and, in Security, poſſeſs conſiderable Profits,) was the Baſis of a Multitude of Laws which, contrary to their Intention, rather checked, than encouraged, the induſtrious Exertions of his Subjects. The Views of *Henry* were certainly directed the moſt towards an Increaſe of his Cuſtoms, when He commanded *Morton*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, to dwell in the Speech, at the Opening of the Parliament, on the Neceſſity of taking into their ſerious Conſideration, the Protection of the Trade, and Manufactures of the Kingdom (*p*.). That *Henry* aſſiſted the Merchants with the Loan of large Sums, for which He took no Intereſt, in Order that they might engage in thoſe Enterprizes to which their Property was before unequal, is not to be denied, and reflects a Credit on his Conduct, howſoever mixed it may have been with Plans of private Gain (q). But the exaction of Intereſt, (at this Period called Uſury) and even the Profits of Exchange, were forbidden by ſeveral Laws (*r*). Every evaſive Contract calculated for the Advantage of the Money-Lender was prohibited with equal Strictneſs (*s*). It is obvious that the Execution of theſe ridiculous, and unjuſt Laws muſt have proved impoſſible, or, if poſſible, pernicious to the Subject, in his Courſe of Trade.

The Exportation of Money, Plate, or Bullion, was ſtrictly provided againſt, and all foreign Merchants importing Commodities into the Kingdom, were obliged to inveſt, in *Engliſh* Commodities, the Money raiſed by their

(*p*) A. D. 1487.—Godwini de Præſul. Angliæ Commentar. Cantab. 1743. Folio, p. 121.—Bacon's Hiſtory of Hen. VII. p. 289.—Parliament. Hiſt. V. 2. p. 417, 418, 419.

(*q*) Hall, folio 61.—Polyd. Virgil.

(*r*) 3 Hen. VII. Cap. 5.

(*s*) 7 Hen. VII. Cap. 8.

their Sales, in Order to prevent their conveying it away clandeſtinely *(t)*. Theſe Precautions againſt the Exportation are judiciouſly conſidered as ſerving only to increaſe it *(u)*.

With equal Abſurdity, as it diſcouraged the Breed, and introduced a Scarcity, was it enacted that no Perſon ſhould carry, or ſend any Horſe, or Mare above the Value of ſix Shillings, and eight Pence, out of the Realm, on Pain of forfeiting the ſame, except it was for their own Uſe *(x)*. Inſtead of being left free, and intruſted to the common courſe of Buſineſs, and Commerce *(y)*, the Wages of Labourers were regulated by Law *(z)*; and Prices affixed to Woollen Cloth *(a)*, and to Caps and Hats *(b)*. It may appear aſtoniſhing that the Price of a Yard of ſcarlet Cloth ſhould be limited to twenty-ſix Shillings, Money of our Age; that of a Yard of coloured Cloth to eighteen; the *firſt* a higher Price than the Commodity bears at preſent: and that the Wages of a Tradeſman, ſuch as a Maſon, Bricklayer, Tiler, &c. ſhould be regulated at near ten Pence a-Day; which is not *half* inferior to the preſent Wages given in ſome Parts of *England (c)*. "Labour, and Commodities have certainly riſen ſince the Diſcovery of the *Weſt-Indies*, but not ſo much, in every Particular, as is generally imagined. The greater Induſtry of the preſent Times has increaſed the Number of Tradeſmen and Labourers, ſo as to keep Wages nearer a Par than could be expected from the greater In-

(*t*) 3 et 4 Hen. VII. Cap. 23, 28.
(*u*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 3. 8vo. p. 401.
(*x*) 11 Hen. VII. Cap. 13.
(*y*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 3. 8vo. p. 402.
(*z*) 11 Hen. VII. Cap. 22.
(*a*) 4 Hen. VII. Cap. 8.
(*b*) Ibid. Cap. 9.
(*c*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 3. p. 402.

creaſe of Gold, and Silver. And the additional Art, employed in the finer Manufactures, has even made ſome of theſe Commodities fall below their former Value. Not to mention that Merchants, and Dealers, being contented with leſs Profit than formerly, afford the Goods cheaper to their Cuſtomers (*d*)." We learn from a Statute in the fourth Year of this King, that Goods purchaſed for ſixteen Pence would ſometimes be ſold by the Merchants for three Shillings. The Commodities, the Price of which hath chiefly riſen, are Butchers meat, Fowl, and Fiſh, (but particularly the latter) which cannot be greatly augmented in Quantity by the Increaſe of Art and Induſtry (*e*).

The low State of Induſtry, at this Æra, proceeded in a great Meaſure, from the Reſtraints with which it was incumbered. Theſe were afterwards leſſened, although not ſufficiently, by the Parliament, or rather by the King, who took the Lead on all Occaſions. During the Reign of *Henry* the Fourth, it had been enacted that no Perſon ſhould bind their Son, or Daughter, to an Apprenticeſhip, unleſs He was poſſeſſed of twenty Shillings a Year in Land. *Henry* the Seventh exempted the Citizens of *Norwich* from the Penalties of this Law, which by cauſing a want of Workment, had introduced a Decay amongſt their Manufactures (*f*). The whole County of *Norfolk* afterwards obtained a like Exemption with Regard to ſome Branches of the Woollen Trade (*g*). The Hiſtorian who hath thrown this Subject into the cleareſt Point of View (*h*), obſerves that ſuch ridiculous Limitations proceeded from a De-

(*d*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 3. p. 402.
(*e*) Ibid.
(*f*) 11 Hen. VII. Cap. 11.
(*g*) 12 Hen. VII. Cap. 1.
(*h*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 3. p. 403.

a Deſire of promoting Huſbandry, which, however, is on no Occaſion, more effectually encouraged than by the Increaſe of Manufactures. For a like Reaſon, the Law enacted againſt Incloſures, and for the keeping up of Farm Houſes (*i*), ſcarcely deſerves the high Praiſes beſtowed on it by Lord *Bacon*. If Huſbandmen underſtand Agriculture, and have a ready Vent for their Commodies, We need not dread a Diminution of the People employed in the Country. All Methods of ſupporting Populouſneſs, except by the Intereſt of the Proprietors, are violent, and ineffectual. During a Century and a Half after this Period, there was a frequent Renewal of Laws and Edicts, againſt Population; whence We may infer that None of them were ever executed. The natural Courſe of Improvement at laſt provided a Remedy.

Another Obſtacle to the Progreſs of Commerce may be traced in the *Benevolence* which *Henry*, eager in his favourite Purſuit of Money, had twice levied on his People (*k*). The Sums were collected chiefly from the Mercantile Part of the Kingdom, and being hoarded in his Coffers, diminiſhed, and impaired that Circulation which is the Life of Trade. The Exaction (for it cannot be called a Contribution) from *London* alone amounted nearly to ten thouſand Pounds. We have already obſerved that this Mode of Taxation was introduced by *Edward* the Fourth. *Richard* the Third, to win the Favour of the People, judged it prudent to aboliſh it; but *Henry*, preferring Riches to Popularity, revived, and even enforced it with unuſual Rigour. In few Years afterwards, the Parliament paſſed an Act impowering the King to levy, by Courſe of Law, the Be-

(*i*) 4 Hen. 7. Cap. 19.

(*k*) A. D. 1491, 1504—Rymer's Fœdera, V. 12. p. 446.

nevolences which different Perſons had promiſed to pay Him: Hence, obſerves an old Hiſtorian (*l*), may We perceive that what is once practiſed for the Utility of a Prince, and brought to a Precedent by Matter of Record, may be turned to the great Prejudice of the People, if Rulers in Authority will ſo adjudge, and determine it. *Morton*, the Chancellor, in his Charge to the Commiſſioners, directed them to employ an Artifice by which they ſhould overturn the Evaſions of Thoſe who might be aſked to contribute. To Individuals who pleaded the Moderation of their Expences, as a Proof of the Narrowneſs of their Income, it was anſwered that They muſt have ſaved Money by Frugality: To Perſons more coſtly in their Way of Living, it was inſinuated that their Diſburſements were unqueſtionable Marks of their great Riches (*m*). This contemptible Device was called, by Some, the Chancellor's Crutch; and by Others, his Fork.

Nor were theſe the only Extortions by which the King oppreſſed his Subjects, whoſe Hearts He loſt, whilſt He acquired their Wealth; and thus, by a ſevere, and unreaſonable Extenſion of penal Laws, became rich as a Man, but poor as a Prince (*n*). Theſe Acts of Tyranny were the more fatal to the Intereſts of Commerce, as they generally fell on ſome of the chief Merchants in the Kingdom. Sir *William Capel*, an Alderman of *London*, whoſe opulent Fortune was employed in Trade, ſtood condemned, by an arbitrary Perverſion of Juſtice, to pay the enormous Sum of two thouſand, ſeven hundred, and forty-three Pounds, for having, in his Mayoralty (*o*), received falſe Money, and

(*l*) Hall, folio 22.
(*m*) Bacon, p. 602.
(*n*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 328.
(*o*) A. D. 1503.

and not inflicted (what was called) due Puniſhment on the Perſon acccuſed of having coined it (*p*). Being either unwilling, or unable to advance ſo exorbitant a Fine, He was committed to the Tower, from whence after a long Impriſonment, He was releaſed by an Order from *Henry*, who accepted of a Compoſition amounting to ſixteen hundred, and fifteen Pounds. From this Period, the Fact became a frequent Precedent, and ſupplied the Place of Law. The Lord Mayor, Sir *Thomas Kneſworth* and his two Sheriffs, were impriſoned for pretended Abuſes, in the Execution of their Office (*q*), and not ſet free until They had payed fourteen hundred Pounds (*r*). One of the ſucceeding Lord Mayors, Sir *Laurence Ailmer*, and likewiſe both his Sheriffs, were fined a thouſand Pounds, and impriſoned for Non-payment (*s*). *Chriſtopher Hawes*, a Mercer, and Alderman of *London* was, on the ſame Account, committed to the Tower, where He died of Grief (*t*). We are concerned to perceive a Naval Writer (*u*), with liberal Ideas, and a cultivated Underſtanding, apologizing for the iniquitous Rapacity of *Henry*, and obſerving that "theſe Acts would have appeared flagrant Oppreſſions in any other Prince." It is added that "He made many wiſe Laws for the Public Good; and ſuch Laws interfering ſometimes with the Methods Men had been in a Habit of practiſing for private Profit, He always took Advantage of the higheſt Offenders, as yielding moſt to his Coffers, and from the Terror

(*p*) Stowe, p. 485.
(*q*) A. D. 1505.
(*r*) Stowe, p. 485.—Bacon, p. 635.
(*s*) Ibid.
(*t*) Fabian, p. 530, 536.—Hall, folio, 57, 58, 59, b.—Grafton, p. 942, 946.—Stowe, p. 485.—Speed, p. 750.—Bacon, p. 636.
(*u*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 328.

Terror of their Puniſhment, impreſſing univerſal Obedience: For, in moſt of his Proſecutions, the Welfare of the State was the Apparent Object, and the due Execution of the Laws the invariable Pretence. He was, therefore, the Laws being made by Parliament, a rigid Prince; but, acting ever by Law, eſcaped the Odium of being a Tyrant." Theſe Obſervations, ſo contrary to thoſe of all other Hiſtorians, refute themſelves, and it is ſufficient to anſwer that the Decrees of a Parliament, howſoever formally ratified, may be illegal, in particular Caſes; and of Courſe, that it is tyrannical to carry them into Execution. The great Law of the Land is unalterable by Legiſlative Bodies; and We learn from it that a Merchant ſhall not be amerced for a ſmall Fault, but for a great Crime, and in Proportion to the Heinouſneſs of it, ſaving to Him the Means of his Livelihood, and what is neceſſary to carry on his Commerce (*x*).

Yet, leſt it ſhould be thought by ſome of our Readers that *Henry* was not a lawleſs Tyrant, it may be neceſſary more particularly to deſcribe the Meaſures taken to oppreſs the People. The flagitious Inſtruments employed on this Occaſion were Sir *Richard Empſon*, and *Edmund Dudley*. The Firſt, poſſeſſed of Genius, and a conſummate Knowledge of the Laws, was ſkilled in gloſſing over with apparently juſtifiable Pretences the moſt arbitrary Proceedings. Theſe Abilities, added to a noble Deſcent, had (notwithſtanding that He diſgraced both,) rendered Him ſomewhat more reſpectable than *Empſon*, who, ſprung from the Dregs of the People (*y*), and endued only with miſchievous Abilities, diſplayed that Inſolence ſo common to the Mean in their Proſpe-

(*x*) Magna Charta, Clauſe 25.
(*y*) He was a Sieve-Maker's Son. Bacon, p. 629.

Proſperity, and boaſted openly of the Succeſs of his Extortions.

Theſe Men, ſtill leſs criminal than *Henry*, whoſe Authority they were ſuffered to pervert to execrable Purpoſes, cauſed ſuch as were reputed opulent to be indicted for ſundry Crimes. If the Grand Jury found the Bills, the accuſed Parties were committed; yet, not brought to any Trial until of their own Accord, they deſired to compound with the King. If they were tedious in making this Requeſt, Emiſſaries were employed to perſuade them that their Obſtinacy might expoſe them to a capital Conviction. Anxious to preſerve their Lives, they ſubmitted to Compoſitions by which they loſt the greateſt Portion of their Property. To theſe, the Agents of *Henry* applied the gentle Term of Mitigations, and laviſhed their Encomiums on the gracious Diſpoſition of the Sovereign who thus allayed the Rigour of the Laws.

Theſe were the firſt, and conſequently, the moſt moderate Proceedings in Caſes of Extortion. The next Enterprizes of the Miniſters were leſs ſcrupulouſly conducted; and even the common Forms of Juſtice were daringly neglected. They iſſued Precepts to attach, and cite Perſons before them, at their private Houſes, where, erecting themſelves into a Court of Commiſſion, they, after a curſory Examination, without adducing either Proofs, or Witneſſes, paſſed Sentence on the Victims of their Oppreſſions, and condemned them in enormous Fines, for the Uſe of *Henry*. Thus, trampling on the Right of Juries, and every mode preſcribed by Law, they arrogated to themſelves the Privileges of determining equally in Civil Controverſies, and in Pleas of the Crown. It appeared as if all criminal Cauſes, had belonged to that Kind of Juriſdiction, which, although ſeldom adverted to, in the preceding Reigns, was become uſual in this.

The

The Lands of the Subjects were charged with *Tenures in Capite*, by Suits inſtituted againſt them for falſe Offices, Wardſhips, Liveries, premier Seiſines, and Alienations (*z*). Theſe the proſecuted Parties were, on divers Pretences, and Delays, forbidden to traverſe, according to the Law. Hence, aroſe a Variety of Proceſſes, whereof the Miniſters (who decided conſtantly in Favour of the Crown,) were the ſole Judges.

The King's Wards were never permitted, at the Expiration of their Minority, to have Livery of their Lands, without the previous Payment of exceſſive Fines. Such as were outlawed in perſonal Actions were not allowed their Charters of Pardon, until they had purchaſed them at an enormous Rate. So ſtrictly executed was the Rigour of the Law, which, under this Predicament, demands a Forfeiture of Goods. It was even averred that the King might juſtly claim the Half of the Lands, and Rents, belonging to the proſecuted Parties, and convert them to his own Uſe, during the Space of two Years.

The Reader will not wonder that in Order to facilitate the ſucceſs of theſe abominable Meaſures, the Jurors were compelled, on Pain of Citations, Impriſonment, and Fines, to return a Verdict, agreeably to the Inclinations of *Henry*, and his Miniſters, whoſe principal Working is, by a Noble Author (*a*), obſerved to move on penal Statutes, wherein they ſpared not either great or ſmall; too arbitrary to enquire whether the Law was poſſible or impoſſible; in Uſe or obſolete. At their Command, were Rabbles of Promoters, and leading Jurors, who found exactly as their Employers pleaſed (*b*).

How

(*z*) Bacon, p. 630.

(*a*) Ibid.

(*b*) Ibid.—Hall, folio 57.---Rapin's Hiſtory of England, Octavo, V. 5. p. 342, 343.---Holingſhed, p. 504.---Polyd. Virgil, p. 613, 615.

How greedily this avaricious Prince purſued, and ſeized on trifling Profits, is evident from a Paſſage in the Accompt-Book, kept by *Empſon*, and ſubſcribed by the King's own Hand at the Bottom of almoſt every Leaf. The Words are "*Item*, Received of ſuch a "Perſon five Marks, for a Pardon; if it do not paſs, "the Money is to be repayed, or the Party otherwiſe "ſatisfied." Oppoſite to the Memorandum, *Henry* had written in the Margin, "Otherwiſe ſatisfied (*c*)." To give up a Subject who might, perhaps, have been rendered ſerviceable to the Community, was leſs difficult to this mercenary Tyrant, than to relinquiſh the Bribe which He had wrung from Him, by baſely encouraging Him to hope that his Life ſhould be preſerved (*d*).

To the ſame rapacious Temper, and not a rigid Love of Juſtice, muſt We attribute the Execution of Sir *William Stanley*, a near Relation, and One to whom He ſtood indebted for the Crown He wore. It doth not appear from any hiſtorical Evidence that this unhappy Victim had been guilty of High-Treaſon. That He in Confidence, ſhould have told his faithleſs Friend, Sir *Robert Clifford*, that if He were poſitive that the Youth who appeared in *Flanders*, abſolutely was the Son of King *Edward*, He would not bear Arms againſt Him, is not ſufficient even to juſtify a Trial; much leſs the Condemnation which ſucceeded it (*e*). This Crime, muſt, ſurely have been venial, if *Stanley* had not ſtood poſſeſſed of more than three thouſand Pounds a Year, in Land, and forty thouſand Marks in Plate, and

(*c*) Bacon, p. 630.

(*d*) Sir *Richard Empſon*'s Book of Accompts had been ſeen by Lord *Bacon*. That between *Henry* and *Dudley*, came into the Poſſeſſion of Sir *Robert Cotton*.

(*e*) Bacon, p. 610, 611.—Hall, folio 35.—Stowe, p. 475.—Holingſhed.

and Money, excluſive of Jewels, and other Perſonals of immenſe Value, all of which were confiſcated by *Henry* (*f*).

It hath already been obſerved that the diſcerning Reader may gather ſome Ideas of the State of Commerce, in the remoter ages, from an Examination of the Prices affixed to the Neceſſaries of Life. A very exact Account of theſe, together with the unpoliſhed Manners of the Nobles, in the fifteenth Century, is contained in a Houſhold Book of an old Earl of *Northumberland*, printed by Order of the preſent Duke. Deſirous of reducing every Thing in the leaſt connected with our Subject, as much, as poſſible into one Point of View, We ſhall, without referring to the Extracts inſerted, from this curious Work, amongſt the Notes of a celebrated Hiſtorian (*g*), tranſcribe the whole Paſſage; and, as they are ſingular, not even omit thoſe few Particulars which appear foreign to the Deſign of this Hiſtory.

The Family conſiſts of one hundred, and ſixty-ſix Perſons, Maſters, and Servants: Fifty-ſeven Strangers are reckoned upon every Day: On the Whole, two hundred, and twenty-three. Two-pence-halfpenny are ſuppoſed to be the daily Expence of Each, for Meat, Drink, and Firing. This would make a Groat of our preſent Money. Suppoſing Proviſions between three and four Times cheaper, it would be equivalent to fourteen Pence: No great Sum for a Nobleman's Houſe-Keeping, eſpecially conſidering that the chief Expence of a Family, at that Time, conſiſted in Meat, and Drink: for the Sum allotted by the Earl, for his whole Annual Expence is one thouſand, one hundred and

(*f*) Ibid.---February 16, 1495.
(*g*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 3. 8vo. p. 460. Note O.

and eighteen Pounds, ſeventeen Shillings, and eight Pence; Meat, Drink, and Firing, coſt ſeven hundred, and ninety-ſix Pounds, eleven Shillings, and two Pence; more than two Thirds of the Whole: In a modern Family, it is not above a Third (*h*). The Whole Expence of the Earl's Family is managed with an Exactneſs that is very rigid, and ſeems even ſomewhat niggardly, inſomuch, that the Numbers of Pieces which muſt be cut out of every Quarter of Beef, Mutton, Pork, Veal, nay, Stock-fiſh, and Salmon, are determined, and muſt be entered, and accounted for by the different Clerks appointed for that Purpoſe: If a Servant is abſent a Day, his Meſs is ſtricken off: if He goes on my Lord's Buſineſs, Board-Wages are allowed Him, eight Pence a Day for his Journey in Winter, and five Pence in Summer. When he ſtays in any Place, two Pence a-Day are allowed Him, beſide the Maintenance of his Horſe. Somewhat above a Quarter of Wheat is allowed for every Month throughout the Year; and the Wheat is eſtimated at five Shillings, and eight Pence, a Quarter. Two hundred and fifty Quarters of Malt are allowed, at four Shillings a Quarter. Two Hogſheads are to be made of a Quarter; which amounts to about a Bottle, and a Third of Beer to each Perſon (*i*), and the Beer will not be very ſtrong. One hundred, and nine fat Beeves, are to be bought at *Allhallow* Tide, at thirteen Shillings, and four Pence, a Piece: And twenty-four lean Beeves to be bought at *Saint Helen*'s, at eight Shillings, a Piece: Theſe are to be put into the Paſtures to feed; and are to ſerve from Midſummer to Michaelmas; which is conſequently the only Time that the Family eat freſh Beef: During all the Reſt of the Year, they live on ſalted Meat (*k*). One hun-

(*h*) P. 157, 158, 159.
(*i*) Page 5.
(*k*) Page 5.

hundred, and ſixty Gallons of Muſtard are allowed in a Year; which ſeems, indeed requiſite for the ſalt Beef (*l*). Six hundred, and forty-ſeven Sheep are allowed, at twenty-pence a-Piece; and theſe ſeem to be all eaten ſalted, except between *Lammas*, and *Michaelmas* (*m*). Only twenty-five Hogs are allowed at two Shillings a-Piece; twenty-eight Veals at twenty Pence; forty Lambs at ten Pence, or a Shilling (*n*). Theſe ſeem to be reſerved for my Lord's Table, or that of the upper Servants, called the Knight's Table. The other Servants, as they ate ſalted Meat almoſt through the whole Year, and with few, or no Vegetables, had a very bad, and unhealthy Diet: So that there cannot be any Thing more erroneous than the magnificent Ideas formed of *the Roaſt Beef of old England*. We muſt entertain as mean an Idea of their Cleanlineſs: Only ſeventy Ells of Linen, at eight Pence an Ell, were annually allowed for this great Family: No Sheets were uſed: This Linen was made into eight Table-Cloths for my Lord's Table, and one Table-Cloth for the Knights (*o*). This laſt, I ſuppoſe, was waſhed only once a Month. Only forty Shillings are allowed for waſhing throughout the whole Year, and moſt of it ſeems expended on the Linen belonging to the Chapel. The Drinking, however was tolerable; namely, ten Tons, and two Hogſheads of *Gaſcony* Wine, at the Rate of four Pounds, thirteen Shillings, and four Pence a Ton (*p*). Only ninety-one Dozen of Candles for the whole Year (*q*). The Family roſe at Six in the Morning, dined at Ten, and ſupped at Four in the Afternoon: The Gates were all ſhut at Nine, and no farther

(*l*) Page 18.
(*m*) Page 5.
(*n*) Page 7.
(*o*) Page 16.
(*p*) Page 6.
(*q*) Page 14.

farther Ingreſs, or Egreſs permitted *(r)*. My Lord, and Lady have ſet on their Table, at Breakfaſt, at ſeven o'Clock in the Morning, a Quart of Beer; as much Wine; two Pieces of ſalt Fiſh, ſix red Herrings, four white Herrings, or a Diſh of Sprats. In fleſh Days, half a Chine of Mutton, or a Chine of Beef boiled *(s)*. Maſs is ordered to be ſaid at ſix o'Clock, that all my Lord's Servants (ſays the Houſhold Book,) may riſe early *(t)*. Only twenty-four Fires are allowed, beſides the Kitchen, and Hall, and moſt of theſe have only a Peck of Coals a Day allowed them (*u*). After *Lady*-Day, no Fires permitted in the Rooms, except Half-Fires in my Lord's, and Lady's, and Lord *Piercy's*, and the Nurſery *(x)*. It is to be obſerved that my Lord kept Houſe in *Yorkſhire*, where there is certainly much cold Weather, after *Lady-Day*. Eighty Chalders of Coals, at four Shillings, and two Pence, a Chalder ſuffices throughout the whole Year; and becauſe Coal will not burn without Wood, (ſays the Houſe-Book,) ſixty-four Loads of great Wood are alſo allowed, at twelve Pence, a Load *(y)*. This is a Proof that Grates were not then uſed. Here is an Article. *It is deviſed that from henceforth no Capons to be bought but only for my Lord's own Meſs, and that the ſaid Capons ſhall be bought for two Pence a piece, lean, and fed in the Poultry; and Maſter Chamberlain, and the Stewards be fed with Capons, if there be Strangers ſitting with them (z)*. Pigs are to be bought at three Pence, or a Groat a Piece: Geeſe at the ſame Price: Chickens at a Half-penny: Hens at two Pence, and only for the above-mentioned Tables. Here is another Article. *Item, it is thought*

(*r*) Page 314, 318.
(*s*) Page 73, 75.
(*t*) Page 170.
(*u*) Page 99.
(*x*) Page 101.
(*y*) Page 22.
(*z*) Page 102.

good that no Plovers be bought at no Seaſon, but only in Chriſtmas, *and principal Feaſts, and my Lord to be ſerved therewith, and his Board-End, and none Other, and to be bought for a Penny a Piece, or a Penny Half-penny, at moſt (a).* Woodcocks are to be bought at the ſame Price. Partridges at two Pence (*b*); Pheaſants, a Shilling; Peacocks, the ſame (*c*). My Lord keeps only twenty-ſeven Horſes in his Stable at his own Charge: His upper Servants have an Allowance for maintaining their own Horſes (*d*). Theſe Horſes are, ſix gentle Horſes, as they are called, at Hay, and hard Meat throughout the whole Year, four Palfreys, three Hobbies, and Nags, three Sumpter-Horſes, ſix Horſes for thoſe Servants to whom my Lord furniſhes a Horſe, two Sumpter-Horſes more, and three Mill-Horſes, Two for carrying the Corn, and One for grinding it: Whence We may infer that Mills, either Water, or Wind-Mills were then unknown: Beſides theſe, there are ſeven great Trotting-Horſes for the Chariot, or Waggon. He allows a Peck of Oats, a day, beſides Loaves made of Beans, for his principal Horſes; the Oats at twenty Pence, the Beans at two Shillings, a Quarter. The Load of Hay is at two Shillings, and eight Pence. When my Lord is on a Journey, He carries thirty-ſix Horſemen along with Him; together with Beds, and other Accommodation (*e*). The Inns, it ſeems, could afford nothing tolerable. My Lord paſſes the Year, in three County Seats, all in *Yorkſhire*, *Wryſſel*, *Leckingfield*, and *Topclyffe*; but He has Furniture only for One: He carries every thing along with Him, Beds, Tables, Chairs, Kitchen Utenſils, all which We may conclude were ſo coarſe that they could not be ſpoilt by the Carriage: Yet ſeventeen Carts, and one

(*a*) Page 103. (*b*) Page 104, 105.
(*c*) Page 106. (*d*) Page 126.
(*e*) Page 157.

one Waggon ſuffices for the Whole (*f*). One Cart ſuffices for all his Kitchen-Utenſils, Cooks Beds, &c. (*e*). One remarkable Circumſtance is that He has eleven Prieſts in his Houſe, beſides ſeventeen Perſons, Chanters, Muſicians, &c. belonging to the Chapel: Yet He has only two Cooks for a Family of two hundred, and twenty-three Perſons (*h*). Their Meals were certainly dreſſed in the ſlovenly Manner of a Ship's Company. It is amuſing to obſerve the pompous, and even royal Stile obſerved by this *Tartar* Chief: He does not give any Orders, though only for the right making of Muſtard, but it is introduced with this Preamble: *It ſeemeth good to Us, and our Council.* If We conſider (adds the judicious Commentator (*i*),) the magnificent, and elegant manner in which the *Venetian*, and other *Italian* Noblemen then lived, with the Progreſs made by the *Italians* in Literature, and the fine Arts, We ſhall not wonder that they regarded the Ultramountaine Nations as barbarous. The *Flemiſh* alſo ſeem to have much excelled the *Engliſh*, and even the *French*. Yet the Earl is ſometimes not deficient in Generoſity: He pays, for Inſtance, an annual Penſion of a Groat a Year, to my Lady of *Walſingham*, for her Intereſt in Heaven; the ſame Sum to the Holy Blood, at *Hales* (*k*.) No Mention is any where made of Plate; but only of the Hiring of Pewter-Veſſels. The Servants ſeem all to have bought their own Cloaths from their Wages.

(*f*) Page 391.
(*g*) Page 388.
(*h*) Page 325.—In another Place, (p. 388.) Mention is made of four Cooks: But I ſuppoſe that the two Servants called (in p. 325.) Groom of the Larder, and Child of the Scullery, are (in p. 388.) comprehended in the Number of Cooks.
(*i*) Mr. Hume.
(*k*) Page 337.

In the Year, one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Six, a Treaty of Commerce (*l*), exceedingly ſerviceable to *Henry*, and his Subjects, was concluded between the Crowns of *England*, and *Caſtile*, at a Time when *Philip* of *Auſtria*, the Sovereign of the Latter, driven by a Storm, on the Coaſt near *Weymouth*, involuntarily paid a Viſit to the King who under Pretence, of doing the neceſſary Honours to ſuch illuſtrious Gueſts, detained Him, and his Conſort, during three Months, and until He had reaped every poſſible Advantage from the Accident which obliged them to land in his Dominions (*m*). This new Treaty annulled an Article in the Former, by which it had been ſtipulated that the Subjects of *Philip* ſhould be permitted to fiſh on the Coaſts of *England*. The Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries* therefore called it *Intercurſus Malus*, or the bad Treaty.

We learn from the Preamble of a Law, enacted during this Reign (*n*), that the Company of *Merchant-Adventurers*, in *London*, were authorized to prohibit all other Merchants, who did not pay them nearly ſeventy Pounds, from trading to the great Marts, in *Flanders*. It is aſtoniſhing that ſo burdenſome a Reſtraint on the Freedom of Commerce ſhould ever have been deviſed, much more carried into Execution.

On the ninth of December, in the Year, one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Two, the King granted a Patent to *James Elliot*, and *Thomas Aſhurſt*, Merchants of *Briſtol*, to *John Gonſalez*, and *Francis Fernandez*, Natives of *Portugal*, impowering them to proceed with *Engliſh* Colours, on a Voyage for the Diſcovery of unknown Countries, and the Settlement of Colonies, therein.

(*l*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 13. p. 142.
(*m*) Hall, folio 58.—Bacon, p. 633.
(*n*) 12 Hen. VII. Cap. 6.

therein (*o*). About this Period, alſo, *Vaſquez de Gama*, a *Portugueſe*, paſſed the *Cape of Good Hope*, and opened, by ſailing entirely round the Continent of *Africa*, a new Courſe to the *Eaſt-Indies*. It was now that Commerce, and Navigation, encouraged by Induſtry, and the Arts, ſhot forth with a redoubled Vigour, increaſing with the Times, and at length ſpreading to the moſt diſtant Quarters of the World.

The laudable Zeal of *Henry* for the proſperous Eſtabliſhment of his Marine may be diſcovered from a Multitude of Inſtances. He built a conſiderable Fleet which, when not employed in the Service of Government, was let out, in ſmall Diviſions, to the Merchants. Some of theſe Ships were of large Burden, but particularly that called THE GREAT HARRY (*p*), on the Conſtruction of which, the King expended fourteen thouſand Pounds. This may properly be ſaid to have been the firſt Ship of the Royal Navy. In every preceding Æra, the Prince, who had Occaſion for a Fleet, was reduced to the Neceſſity of applying to the *Cinque Ports*, and either hiring, or preſſing into his Service, the Veſſels of the Merchants. The Credit of ſurmounting theſe Inconveniencies remained for *Henry*, who introduced ſuch a Naval Force, as was, on all Occaſions, the Security, and the Glory of the Kingdom.

So rigid was the Frugality, and ſo boundleſs the Extortion of this Prince, that the Treaſures, diſcovered at his Death within his Coffers, not only ſurpaſſed thoſe which were accumulated by former Monarchs, but

(*o*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 13. p. 37.

(*p*) Stowe's Annals, p. 484.—By ſome Accident, this remarkable Ship was burnt at *Woolwich*, on the Evening of the twenty-eighth of Auguſt, in the Year, one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Fifty-three.—Holingſhed's Chronicle, V. 11. p. 1090.—Strype's Memorials, V. 3. p. 22.

whatſoever may have been collected by the richeſt of his Succeſſors. One Writer (*q*), hath informed us that they amounted to five Millions, and three hundred thouſand Pounds, moſt in foreign Coin. Yet a noble Hiſtorian of this Reign makes mention only of eighteen hundred thouſand Pounds (*r*), which the King had concealed in private Corners, under his own Lock, and Key, at the Palace of *Richmond*, where He died. Even this Sum appears incredible, if We reflect on the great Scarcity of Money, during that Period. Silver was, then, at thirty-ſeven Shillings, and Sixpence a Pound; conſequently, the pecuniary Acquiſitions of *Henry*, according to the laſt Computation, were nearly equal to three Millions, Money of this Age. How muſt our Wonder increaſe, when We learn (*s*) that *Henry* left behind Him four Millions, and a Half, in Bullion, excluſive of wrought Plate, Jewels, and rich Furniture! Theſe Sums are not ſet down in Figures, (a Method likely to introduce Miſtakes,) but in Words, at full Length. The Authority for this Aſſertion is the Book of Accompts kept between the King, and *Dudley*. The apparent Inconſiſtency of the two Relations ſeems to clear up, if We ſuppoſe (as Sir *Robert Cotton* mentions only *Dudley*'s Book,) that eight hundred thouſand Pounds ſtood on the Accompt of Sir *Richard Empſon*; in which Caſe, the ſum will agree with the Record cited by Sir *Edward Coke* (*t*). From this Circumſtance, We may conceive what Quantities of the National Wealth

(*q*) Coke, 4 Inſtit. Cap. 35. Cloſe-Roll. Ann. 3. Hen. VII.

(*r*) Vol. II. of his Works, under the Life of Hen. VIII. p. 353.

(*s*) Sir Robert Cotton's Anſwer to the Reaſons for foreign Wars, p. 53.—Davenant's Grants, and Reſumptions, p. 250.

(*t*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p 334.

Wealth had been tyrannically confiſcated to the Uſe of *Henry*. It ſeems, at leaſt, a Proof that the Generality of his Subjects, how limited ſoever their Incomes may have been, were in their Turns, compelled to gratify his Avarice; and it may alſo induce us to entertain a Doubt whether the *Engliſh*, of that Æra, were as poor as moſt Writers have repreſented them.

We have already obſerved that, to the Detriment of Commerce, the Circulation of theſe immenſe Sums became ſtopped, from the Moment that they were ſeized by *Henry*. With what Reluctance He parted from his Money, even on thoſe Occaſions, when it was neceſſary for his own Honour, that He ſhould reſtrain his Avarice, is evident from his Conduct to his Daughter, the Princeſs *Margaret*; and to the Lady *Anne*, the Siſter of his Queen. When the Former was wedded to the King of *Scotland*, her Portion amounted only to thirty thouſand Nobles, or ten thouſand Pounds (*u*); and He could ſcarcely be perſuaded to ſettle about an hundred, and twenty Pounds a-Year upon the Latter, when She eſpouſed the Lord *Thomas Howard* (*x*).

It appears by an Indenture of the ninth Year of the Reign of *Henry*, the Seventh, that a Pound-Weight of Gold, of the old Standard, was coined into as many, and the ſame Pieces, as in the fifth Year of *Edward*, the Fourth (*y*). The gold Coins of *Henry* the Seventh, were a Sovereign, a Half Sovereign; Ryal, Half-Ryal, and Quarter Ryal, Angel, and Half-Angel. His ſilver Money was Groats, Half-Groſſes, or Two penny Pieces, Pennies, Halfpence, and Farthings. The old Pennies which bore divers Spurs, or the Mullet betwixt

(*u*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 13. p. 118.
(*x*) Stowe's Annals, p. 483.
(*y*) Page 371 of this Work.

the Bars of the Croſs were to go only for Half-Pennies. To avoid Clipping, for the Future, the King cauſed new Groats, and Two-pences to be coined, having a Circle round the outer Part, and ordered that the Gold hereafter to be coined, ſhould have the whole Scripture, or Inſcription, about every Piece (z) (*a*).

The firſt Shillings were coined in the Reign of this Prince. They were large, fair, and (as forty only were in a Pound of Silver,) a full Third heavier than the Shillings of the preſent Time. Of the current Value of a Shilling, about the Middle of the ſixteenth Century, the Reader may form a Judgment, when He is told that a ſpacious Houſe, within the Precincts of the Court, in *Channel-Row*, at *Weſtminſter*, was let to the Comptroller of the Houſhold to *Edward*, the Sixth, for thirty Shillings a Year (*b*).

The Coin of *Henry*, the Seventh, whether Gold, or Silver, was, in general, of due Weight, and Fineneſs; Yet, on his Expedition to *Boulogne*, He either coined, or tolerated a baſe kind of Money, called *Dandy-Pratts*; but of what Metal, Value, or Faſhion, is unknown (*c*). A Naval Writer (*d*) obſerves that this was, perhaps, good Policy; but it proved a bad Precedent, and afforded his Son a Colour for ſinking the Value of his Money, beyond all Example.

The

(z) Stat. 19. Hen. VII. Cap. 5.

(*a*) Madox's Hiſtory of the Exchequer.—Stat. 4. 12 Cap. 5. 19 Cap. 5. Hen. VII.—Coke's Inſtit. Par. 2. p. 576.—Stowe's Survey of London, Ch. Tower.—Camden's Rem.—Rapin's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 5. p. 365, 366.—Biſhop Nicholſon's Hiſtorical Library, Folio, p. 262, 263.

(*b*) J. S. Life of Thomas Smith, p. 126.

(*c*) Sir Robert Cotton's Diſcourſe of foreign Wars, p. 53.—Nummi Britannici Hiſtoria, p. 47.—Fleetwood's Chronicon Precioſum, p. 47.

(*d*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 333.

The Parliament, holden at *Weſtminſter*, in the Beginning of the Year, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Ninety, enacted that no Finer of Gold, or Silver, nor Parter of the ſame by Fire, or Water, ſhould allay any fine Silver, or Gold, or ſell either of them to any Perſon, but only to the Officers of Mints, Changes, and Goldſmiths, within the Realm; and that all Silver be made ſo fine that it may bear twelve Penny-Weight of Allay, in a Pound-Weight (*e*).

(*e*) Stat. 4. Hen. VII. Cap. 2.—Bacon, p. 596, 597.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

TO this illuſtrious Voyager (*a*), every Nation in *Europe* is indebted for thoſe remarkable Diſcoveries which, laying open the Treaſures of the *Weſtern* World, improved the Arts of Navigation, allured Mankind to Induſtry, by Proſpects of Advantage, and extended, whilſt they eſtabliſhed, for Centuries to come, the various Bleſſings which ariſe from Commerce. That this ſerviceable Citizen of the World is not a Native of our Iſland, muſt be immaterial. The *Engliſh* ſtill reap, in common with other Powers, the Benefits which have reſulted from his Enterprize: And this Circumſtance alone intitles Him to their Attention.

Chriſto-

(*a*) The Materials for this Life are chiefly taken from the Hiſtory of the *Weſt Indies*, by *Antonio de Herrara*; the Memoirs of *Chriſtopher*, by his Son, *Fernando Columbus*, written in *Italian*, and compiled from the Original Papers, and Letters of his Father; Naval Tracts by Sir *William Monſon*; the ſecond Volume of *Churchill*'s Collection of Voyages; the ſecond Volume of Lord *Bacon*'s Hiſtory of *Henry* the Seventh; the third Volume of *Hackluyt*'s Voyages; the firſt Volume of *Harris*'s Voyages; the firſt Volume of *Campbell*'s Lives of the Admirals; and the firſt Volume of *Lediard*'s Naval Hiſtory.

Chriſtopher, the Son of *Dominick Columbus*, was born at *Genoa*. His Father (whom Mr. *Tindal*, without quoting his Authority, calls a Wool-Comber (*b*),) was nobly deſcended, but not affluent in his Circumſtances. The earlieſt Part of the Life of *Chriſtopher Columbus* was ſpent at *Pavia*, where He ſtudied Coſmography, Aſtrology, and Geometry. Having run over theſe Sciences, He made ſome Voyages to the *Eaſt*, and *Weſt*. The Particulars of them were little known to his Son, and, therefore, our Information muſt be gathered from his Letters written to the King of *Spain*.

In one of theſe (*c*), He ſays: "I went to Sea very young, and have remained a Voyager to this Day. The Art of Navigation inſpires thoſe who practiſe it with earneſt Wiſhes to diſcover the Secrets of this World. During the Space of forty Years have I been ſailing to all the Regions which are now frequented. I have traded, and converſed with ſuch of the Clergy, and Laity, as were eminent for their Wiſdom, amongſt the *Latins*, *Greeks*, *Indians*, and *Moors*, together with ſeveral other Sects. By the Bleſſing of Heaven, I have acquired a Knowledge of Navigation, Aſtrology, Geometry, and Arithmetic. To the Supreme Being am I indebted for a Genius, and Hands, fit to delineate the Globe, and on it (Each in its proper Place,) the Rivers, Harbours, Iſlands, and the Cities. Throughout this Period, I have frequently ſeen, and always endeavoured to ſee, the Books of Coſmography, Hiſtory, Philoſophy, and other Sciences.—Filled with a Deſire of ſailing to the *Indies*, I waited on your Highneſs. All who heard of the Undertaking rejected it with Scorn. In your Royal Breaſt, alone, Faith and Conſtancy preſerved their Seat."

"In

(*b*) Rapin's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 5. Note *x*. p. 290.

(*c*) Dated in 1501.

"In the Month of February, in the Year, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Sixty-ſeven, I ſailed an hundred Leagues beyond *Thule* (*d*), the Northern Part of which is ſeventy-three Degrees diſtant from the Equinoctial, and not (as ſome Geographers have aſſerted,) ſixty-three Degrees. Nor does it lie upon the Line where *Ptolemy's Weſt* begins, much more to the *Weſtward*. The *Engliſh*, and particularly the Merchants of *Briſtol*, trade to this Iſland, which is as large as their Kingdom. During my Abode, here, the Sea was not frozen. But the Tides were ſo ſtrong that in ſome Places they roſe ſix, and twenty Fathom; and fell as much."

"I was in the Fort of *Saint George de la Mira*, belonging to the King of *Portugal*, which lies under the Equinoctial; and (in Contradiction to the Opinion of many Writers,) I can truly bear Witneſs that it is habitable."

"I have followed the Sea-Service from my fourteenth Year. Three, and twenty Years was I on this Element, without quitting it for any Length of Time that can deſerve Notice. Then, I ſaw all the *Eaſt*, and all the *Weſt*; and, I may add, towards the *North*, or *England*. I have likewiſe, been at *Guinea*; yet never did I behold the Harbours ſo commodious as thoſe of the *Weſt-Indies*."

From the preceding Circumſtances, the Reader muſt have formed the moſt favourable Ideas of this memorable Adventurer, to the Relation of whoſe Diſcoveries, it may be neceſſary to prefix the earlier Particulars of his Life.

The firſt Expedition of *Columbus* was with a Sea Commander of his own Name, and Family. Their Veſſel

(*d*) Iceland.

Veſſel (in the Service of the Crown of *Portugal*,) was attacked by four large *Venetian* Gallies, and, unfortunately, took Fire, in the Midſt of the Engagement. The Crew, to preſerve their Lives, leaped into the Ocean, and, with Difficulty, gained the Shore. Amongſt Theſe, was *Columbus*, who repaired to *Liſbon*, a City at which Multitudes of his Countrymen, the *Genoeſe*, were accuſtomed to reſide. Here, He married the Daughter, of *Peter Monez Pereſtrello*, a celebrated Navigator, who, with two other Captains, diſcovered *Madera* and *Porto Santo*. We may reaſonably infer that the Journals, and Sea-Charts of *Pereſtrello* were, in the Opinion of *Columbus*, the moſt valuable Part of the Portion which He received with his Bride. Soon afterwards, He became a Widower; but ſhortly embraced the Marriage State again. The Fruit of his ſecond Union was *Ferdinand*, who appears to have been well educated, and who wrote his Father's Life. How ſoon *Columbus* embraced the Opinion that new Worlds might be diſcovered; Whether He was influenced by the Example of *Pereſtrello*; Whether his Suggeſtions aroſe from a Conſideration of the ſpherical Form of this Body of Earth, and Water, believing that there muſt neceſſarily be ſome other great Tract of Land, between the *Weſtern* Coaſts of *Europe*, and *Africa*, and the *Eaſtern* Coaſts of *Aſia*, to counterpoiſe our vaſt Continent; or Whether (as ſome Hiſtorians allege, notwithſtanding that *Ferdinand* paſſes over this Circumſtance, in Silence,) He was poſſeſſed of the Memoirs of an ancient Mariner, (who had been driven by Streſs of Weather, on the Coaſts of *Hiſpaniola*, and died, ſome Time afterwards, at the Houſe of *Columbus*, in *Madera*) by which He was aſſured of the Exiſtence of ſome unknown Country to the *Weſtward*, are Points which no Writer on the Subject hath elucidated.

Rela-

Relatively to the laſt Circumſtance, it is obſerved that a certain Pilot, a Native, and Inhabitant of the Town of *Guelva*, in the County of *Niebla*, in *Andaluſia*, called *Alonzo Sanchez de Hualva*, or, according to Others, *Buxula*, was accuſtomed to convey his Merchandize, in a ſmall Veſſel, to the *Canaries*; On his laſt Voyage from thence to *Spain*, a ſtrong *Levant* aroſe, which, in twenty Days, drove him towards one of the Iſlands of *Barlovento*, or the *Windward* Iſlands, which was ſuppoſed to be *Hiſpaniola*. Here, moſt of the Ships Company periſhed for Want, and *Alonzo*, with the few Survivors, dreading the ſame Fate, ſtood out to Sea, and arrived at *Madera*. Beneath the hoſpitable Roof of *Columbus*, the Pilot, found a generous, but unavailing Reception. Worn out by the Miſeries which He had endured, He expired in the Arms of his Benefactor; yet not until He had preſented to Him, as a Debt of Gratitude, his Journals, and whatſoever Obſervations He had made during the Courſe of his Voyages.

The whole of this Account is, with great Appearance of Juſtice, imagined to be a Fiction invented by the *Spaniard*, in Order to traduce the Memory of *Columbus*, who, if He really had been furniſhed with Intelligence, would ſcarcely have perſiſted in thoſe Opinions which expoſed his Undertaking to ſuch plauſible Objections.

Be this as it may, *Columbus*, who regarded it as a Certainty, that extenſive Tracts of Land might be diſcovered to the *Weſtward* of the Continent, was determined, as only Sovereign Princes, or powerful States, could patronize his Deſigns, to apply to the Republic of *Genoa*, of which He was born the Subject. On this Occaſion, He felt the Pain of perceiving his Project derided as a wild Chimera. The firſt Diſappointment

was

was not, however, ſufficient to induce Him to relinquiſh it; and in the Year, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Eighty-two, He, next, addreſſed himſelf to *John* the Second, King of *Portugal*, who not only liſtened to his Propoſals, but declared that He, perhaps, might have enabled Him to carry them into Execution, if, being concerned in aſſiſting ſome Adventurers to make Diſcoveries on the Coaſt of *Africa*, along the Ocean, He had not deemed it hazardous to engage in too many Enterprizes at a Time. The matter was, nevertheleſs, referred to the Conſideration of certain Commiſſioners, who, whilſt they ſeemed, at an Interview with *Columbus*, to ridicule his Overtures, yet liſtened to his Reaſons, and drew from Him an Information of the Courſe which He propoſed to ſteer. Having ſucceeded in this unworthy Artifice, they adviſed the King to fit out a Ship, which, under Pretence of ſailing with Proviſions, to the *Cape de Verd* Iſlands, might diſcover whether the Opinion of *Columbus* was juſtly grounded; and, if practicable, deprive Him of the Fame, and Glory of the Enterprize. This Voyage was unſucceſsful; and, therefore, the King of *Portugal* judged it prudent intirely to abandon his Deſign.

Columbus, thus irritated by an Act of Treachery, was determined to quit the Country, and make an Offer of his Service to the Court of *Spain*. Yet, willing to be armed againſt a freſh Repulſe, He ſent his Brother *Bartholomew* into *England*, (where *Henry* the Seventh, had, juſt before, ſucceeded to the Crown.) On his Paſſage, He was taken by Pirates, who after having ſeized his Property, even to the Cloaths which covered him, obliged him to earn a mean Subſiſtence, by labouring at the Oar. At length, He had the good Fortune to eſcape, arrive in *England*, and proceed to *London*; but in ſo wretched a Condition, emaciated by Sickneſs,

neſs, and nearly periſhing with Want, that it was long before He could purſue the Buſineſs with which He was intruſted. Of the Succeſs of his Negociations, the Reader ſhall be informed, hereafter.

Towards the Cloſe of the Year, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Eighty-four, *Columbus* departed ſecretly from *Portugal*, on his Voyage to *Andaluzia*, and diſembarking at *Palos de Moguer*, repaired immediately to *Cordova*, where *Ferdinand*, and *Iſabella* then, kept their Court. His Propoſals were ſcarcely liſtened to by any of the *Spaniards*, who from their Rank, and Conſequence, were capable of ſerving them, except *Alonzo de Quintanilla*, the Comptroller of *Caſtile*, in whoſe Houſe, He was generouſly entertained, during five Years. This to *Columbus* was a tedious Period, paſſed amidſt Anxiety, Hope, and Fear, in conſtant, but unavailing Sollicitations. Afflicted, yet not deſpairing, He went to *Sevil*, and revealed his Project to the Dukes of *Medina Sidonia*, and *Medina Celi*, by whom it was received with ſo mortifying an Indifference, that *Columbus*, rather than renew his Applications, found Means of conveying Letters, and Propoſals to the King of *France*; and determined, in Caſe of a Refuſal from that Quarter, to ſail for *England*, in Search of his Brother *Bartholomew*, of whom He had not obtained the leaſt Intelligence, ſince his Departure. This laſt Reſolution was, notwithſtanding, over-ruled by ſome ſlight Promiſes of Encouragement, which induced Him to ſtay three Years more, in *Spain*. At length, wearied by Diſappointments, He left the Kingdom; but, to his agreeable Surprize, was, ſoon afterwards, intreated to return. His Proſpects now began to brighten; and, in the Year one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Ninety-two, the Court of *Spain* informed Him that his Services ſhould be accepted.

The Patent, granted to *Columbus*, on the ſeventh of April, in the ſame Year, ſtipulates that He ſhould be Admiral throughout all thoſe Iſlands, or Continents, which might, hereafter, be diſcovered, and conquered by Him, near the Ocean to which He propoſed to ſail, for the Term of his Life; and that after his Death, theſe Honours, and Emoluments, together with all their reſpective Privileges, and Immunities, ſhould deſcend, in regular Succeſſion, to his Heirs, for ever.

That he ſhould be Viceroy, and Governor General of all the Iſlands, or Continents ſo diſcovered, or conquered, near the ſaid Seas; and that He ſhould nominate three Perſons to be Lieutenant Governors of Each. Out of theſe Three, the King, and Queen of *Spain* reſerved the Right of chuſing one.

That He ſhould have the Tithe of all Commodities whatſoever, whether Pearls, precious Stones, Gold, Silver, Spice, or any other Articles, bought, bartered, found, taken, or otherwiſe had within the Limits of the ſaid Admiralty, (the Charges being firſt deducted,) to enjoy, and diſpoſe of the neat Product of the ſaid Tithe, at his Pleaſure.

That He ſhould enjoy the Liberty of trying certain Cauſes, &c. either by Himſelf or his Deputy: And,

That He ſhould be allowed to contribute an eighth Part of the Charge of every Expedition, and receive the eighth Part of the neat Profit ariſing from every Voyage.

On the twelfth of May, *Columbus* proceeded to a ſmall Town in *Andaluſia*, to the Port of *Palos*, from whence He deſigned to ſail. The King had furniſhed him with Orders on the Inhabitants for two *Caravelles* (*e*), one of which, named *La Pinta*, was commanded by

(*e*) A Caravelle is a ſmall ſquare-ſterned Portugueſe Veſſel, generally navigated with lateen Sails; and eſteemed very expeditious.

by *Martin Alonzo Pinzon*, whoſe Brother, *Franciſco Martinez Pinzon*, was Maſter. The Captain, and Maſter of the other was *Vinzenzio Yanez Pinzon*. This *Caravelle*, called *La Nina*, was furniſhed with lateen Sails (*f*), which, afterwards were altered. Thus inconſiderable were the Preparations for this important Expedition, to defray the Charges of which the Court of *Spain* could not be prevailed on to allow more than the trifling Sum of two thouſand Pounds.

On the third of Auguſt, in the Year, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Ninety-two, *Columbus*, now, inveſted with the Rank of Admiral, and all the Privileges already ſpecified, ſet ſail from *Palos*. The firſt Iſland at which He touched was the *Gran Canaria*, from whence, after having procured the neceſſary Articles for a Year's Voyage, He embarked (*g*), in Company with ninety Perſons. In a few Days, He arrived near the *Tropic* of *Cancer*, and under the *Torrid Zone*. Here the Crew, impatient of Heats, which they had never before experienced, and mortified at ſeeing Nothing but the vaſt Ocean, appeared diſpoſed to mutiny, and from thenceforward filled the Mind of *Columbus* with perpetual Apprehenſions. All his Prudence, and Reſolution were exerted at this important Criſis. He concealed his Uneaſineſs; and without ſeeming to obſerve their Murmurs, entered, at one Moment, into private Conferences, with a Part of his Companions; and, at another, addreſſed Himſelf to the whole Body. On theſe Occaſions, He laboured to remove their Fears, and comfort them with Hopes; Explaining, with an

(*f*) A Lateen is a long, triangular Sail extended by a lateen Yard, and frequently uſed by Xebecs, Polacres, Settees, and other Veſſels navigated in the Mediterranean.—Falconer's Univerſal Dictionary of the Marine.

(*g*) September 1, 1492.

Air of Confidence the Motives which induced Him to believe that his Succeſs was certain; and intreating Them to wait, with equal Fortitude, and Perſeverance, the Iſſue of an Enterprize ſo evidently calculated to raiſe them to Proſperity, and Honour.

On the fourteenth of September the Admiral, being about two Hundred Leagues to the *Weſtward*, from the Iſland of *Ferro*, obſerved towards the Cloſe of the Evening, that the Needles varied a Point, *Weſtward*; and, ſomewhat more, about Break of Day. As this Variation had never been remarked by any Voyager, it excited the Aſtoniſhment of the Crew. In three Days afterwards, having ſailed an hundred Leagues farther, on the ſame Courſe, He diſcovered that, at Night, the Needles varied two Rumbs, and, in the Morning, pointed exactly upon the *North* Star.

On the eleventh of October, and, at a Time when the Mariners, whoſe Patience was exhauſted, engaged in dangerous Conſpiracies againſt their Admiral, the Land was judged to be at no conſiderable Diſtance. All Uneaſineſs, and Diſguſts were, now turned into Joy, and Reconciliation. The Bough of a Thorn, newly cut, and covered with its Berries, ſome broken Pieces of Wood, a green Ruſh, a Cane, and a carved Staff, were, at different Times, perceived to float upon the Water. The whole Crew looked out with Eagerneſs for the Land, a yearly Income of Ten thouſand *Maravedis* (*h*) having been promiſed by the Court of *Spain*, as a Reward to the firſt Perſon who ſhould behold it. This welcome Diſcovery was made by the great Projector of the Expedition, who, ſitting on the Poop, at about two Hours before Midnight, obſerved, and ſhewed to ſome of his Officers, a diſtant Light, which at firſt,

(*h*) A Spaniſh Coin, of which thirty-five amount to about Sixpence of our Money.

firſt, appeared to ſhift from its Place, but on a nearer View, and after the Diſcovery of the Land, was known to be a Light carried from one Houſe, to another.

Thither *Columbus* directly ſteered his Courſe, and having ordered his Boat to be well manned, and armed, proceeded (with his Royal Standard flying at the Stern) towards the Shore; and was followed by his Captains, with the Banners of their Conqueſt. Diſembarking, without Oppoſition, the Admiral erected a Croſs upon the Land, of which He took Poſſeſſion, in the Names of *Ferdinand*, and *Elizabeth*, the King and Queen of *Spain*, and called it Saint *Salvador*, or Saint *Saviour*. This Ceremony being concluded, *Columbus* was unanimouſly proclaimed Viceroy, by his People, in the Preſence of a Multitude of the Natives; and his Secretary was directed to enter Minutes of the whole Tranſaction.

This Iſland was called by the Inhabitants, (who were very numerous,) *Guanahani*, and is one of thoſe which have, ſince, been named the *Lucaics*, ſituated between *Florida* and *Cuba*, in about twenty-ſix Degrees of *North* Latitude. It is ſuppoſed to be nine hundred, and fifty Leagues, *Weſt* from the *Canaries*, and was diſcovered by *Columbus*, on the thirty-third Day after He had ſailed from thence. It was about fifteen Leagues in Length, a flat Country, well wooded, and ſupplied with Water, of which a large Lake filled up the Middle of the Iſland.

When the Ships came to an Anchor, the Inhabitants appeared much ſurprized; but their Aſtoniſhment was more increaſed, when They beheld Men, formed indeed like themſelves, but of a different Complexion, and diſguiſed by Cloathing, iſſuing from Veſſels which, in their Idea, were unwieldy Monſters of the Sea. Yet They neither attempted to eſcape from Them, nor diſcovered, by their Conduct, any Marks of Fear.

From the *Spaniards*, whom They approached with Chearfulneſs, They accepted of red Caps, Strings of Beads, and other *European* Trinkets; in Return for which, they brought Proviſions, large Bottoms of ſpun Cotton, Parrots, Javelins, and other Articles, on which They ſeemed to place a greater Value.

No Beaſts were found on the Iſland, nor any Birds, except Parrots; neither could *Columbus* diſcover whether amongſt the natural Productions of the Country, the Natives were poſſeſſed of Jewels, or other coſtly Articles. Obſerving that little Ornaments of Gold were fixed to a Hole which They had pierced through their Noſtrils, He enquired of them, by Signs, from whence They had obtained that Metal. They anſwered, in the ſame Manner, that it came from a Territory to the *Southward*, the King of which had ſuch Quantities of it, that He exchanged it for other Commodities, with the neighbouring Iſlands. Of the *Spaniards*, They were ſo little diſtruſtful that they flocked in Multitudes to their Veſſels, frequently ſwimming, and at other Times uſing their Canoes. At theſe Viſits, They were preſented by *Columbus*, with Strings of glaſs-Beads, Pins, Needles, and other Toys. An Attempt was made to detain ſeven of Them on board the Ships, that, by being taught the *Spaniſh* Language, They might ſerve, hereafter, as Interpreters. Five were inclined to ſtay, the other Two plunged into the Sea, and ſwam to Land.

Columbus, having learned that more Iſlands were at no conſiderable Diſtance, ſet ſail in Order to diſcover them. Shortly afterwards, He came in Sight of Three, on all of which He landed, taking Poſſeſſion of them, with the ſame Form obſerved at the Iſland of *Saint Salvador*, from which They did not in the leaſt differ, either as to Productions, or the Manners of the Natives. He called the Firſt *Santa Maria de la Conceptione*, and

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dedicated it to the *Virgin Mary*. The Second, in Compliment to the King of *Spain*, was named *Fernandina*; and the Third, *Iſabella*, in Honour to the Queen.

On the twenty-ninth of October, the Admiral diſcovered the Iſland of *Cuba*, (called afterwards *Juana*,) and entered the Port on the Eaſt End, named *Baracoa*. There, the Inhabitants thinking they were deſcended from Heaven, adored Them, and kiſſed their Hands, and Feet. Here it was that *Martin Alonzo Pinzon*, having underſtood from the Natives, that there was much Gold at *Bohio*, (called afterwards *Hiſpaniola*,) ſeduced by Avarice, deſerted the Admiral, and ſtood out to Sea (*i*), in Queſt of that Iſland. *Columbus*, having ſailed a hundred and ſix Leagues, to the *Eaſtward*, along the Coaſt of *Cuba*, came to the *Eaſtermoſt* Point of it, from whence He departed, on the fifth of December, for the laſt Diſcovery which He made, during this Voyage, which was the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola*, ſixteen Leagues from *Cuba*, *Eaſtward*, where He found a great Quantity of Gold, and ſome Birds, and Fiſhes, like Thoſe of *Europe*. The Natives were more civilized, and profuſe, than thoſe of other Iſlands. Near to this Spot, the Admiral's Ship was unfortunately loſt, through the Negligence of the Helms-Man, who ran her on a Rock, where She was daſhed to Pieces (*k*). *Columbus* now reſolved that this Iſland ſhould be the firſt Colony, or Eſtabliſhment of *Spaniards*; and having obtained the Permiſſion of *Guacanagari*, the *Cacique*, or Lord of the Place, conſtructed a Fort with Earth and Wood, upon the Shore, and called it the Fort of the *Nativity*. Here, He left thirty-eight *Spaniards*, under the Command of *James de Arana*, of *Cordova*, whoſe Deputy, and, (in Caſe of Death) intended Succeſſor, was *Peter Gutierrez*,

(*i*) November, 21, 1492.
(*k*) December, 25, 1492.

and next to Him *Roderick de Eſcovedo*, together with a Surgeon, a Ship-Carpenter, a Cooper, a Gunner, and a Taylor.

On the ſecond of January, in the Year one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Ninety-three, *Columbus* took Leave of *Guacanagari*, and on the fourth, ſailed to the *Eaſtward*. On the Day following, He came up with the *Caravelle*, commanded by *Martin Alonzo Pinzon*, who had deſerted Him, and to whom He, now, was apparently reconciled. With this, and the other Veſſel, the Admiral proceeded on his Voyage, taking with Him ten Indians, forty Parrots, ſome Gold, Indian Wheat, and other Articles, to evince the Truth of his Diſcovery. Having been again ſeparated from the *Caravelle*, (which, afterwards, put in at *Liſbon*,) He returned with only one Ship to *Spain*, and arrived on the fifteenth of March, at *Palos*, from whence after ſome Stay, He repaired to *Barcelona*, where the Court was then kept. Here, He found a gracious Reception, was permitted to ſit in the Royal Preſence, and bear the Arms of *Caſtile*, and *Leon*; and at the ſame Time, obtained a Ratification of the Contract which had been made with Him, and in which new Privileges were inſerted. Many Honours, and Advantages, were alſo conferred on his Brothers, although at that Period, They were abſent.

Columbus was ſoon ordered to prepare for a ſecond Voyage, and ſupplied with ſeventeen Ships, on board of which were fifteen hundred Men, together with a great Number of Officers, and Volunteers. As no Mares, Cows, Sheep, Goats, Swine, or Aſſes, were in the *Indies*, He took with Him ſeveral of theſe Animals, to introduce the Breed; and alſo Quantities of Wheat, Barley, and many other *European* Herbs, and Plants, whereby their Species might be raiſed within the newly diſcovered Countries. When the Admiral left the Roy-

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al Preſence, He was attended to his Apartments, by all the Court, who, likewiſe, accompanied Him beyond the Walls, when He quitted *Barcelona*. On the twenty-fifth of September, in the Year one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Ninety-three, the Fleet ſailed from the Bay of *Cadiz*, and keeping near the Line, firſt diſcovered (according to ſome Accounts,) the Iſland, afterwards called *Deſeeda*; but *Antonio de Herrera*, and *Ferdinand Columbus* obſerve that the firſt Land was diſcovered on Sunday, the third of November; and that, on this Account, the Admiral named it *Dominica*. They inform us that the next was an Iſland, where He diſembarked, and took Poſſeſſion of it, in the Preſence of a Notary, and other Witneſſes, who atteſted the Tranſaction; and that He called it *Marigalante*, which was the Name of the Ship in which He ſailed. They add that, on the Next Day, He diſcovered another Iſland, and called it *Santa Maria el Guadalupe*; that on the tenth, He perceived a very high Iſland, which He afwards named *Monſeratte*; and in the Courſe of his Voyage, ſeveral Others, amongſt which were *Santa Maria Redonda*, *Santa Maria el Antigua*, *St. Martin*, and *Santa Cruz*, until He arrived at the great Iſland, *Boriguen*, which He called *Saint John the Baptiſt*, and which is now *Saint John de Puerto Rico*.

On the twenty-ſecond of the ſame Month, *Columbus* diſcovered the firſt Land of the Iſland *Hiſpaniola*, and ſoon afterwards reached the Place, now called *Puerto de Plata*, in that Iſland, from whence He proceeded to that named *Puerto Real*. On his Arrival at *Hiſpaniola*, He was informed that the thirty-eight *Spaniards*, (who had alſo quarrelled amongſt themſelves,) having attempted to force ſome of the *Indian* Women, were ſet upon by the Natives, and deſtroyed. At *Hiſpaniola*, and to the *Eaſtward* of his former Settlement, *Columbus* laid

laid the Foundation of a City which, in Honour to the Queen, was called *Iſabella*. He next, ſent back to *Spain*, *Antonio de Torres*, with twelve Ships, laden with Gold of *Ciboa*, and the various Products of this, and other Iſlands. To *De Torres* were alſo intruſted the Diſpatches relative to the Expedition. After his Departure, the Admiral ſtood out to Sea with two Ships, and three *Caravelles*, in Conſequence of his Orders to make more Diſcoveries. He coaſted *Cuba*, which He ſuppoſed to be the Continent, and found other leſſer Iſlands, and one large Iſland, which He called St. *Jago*, now *Jamaica*. Having made other Diſcoveries, the Admiral returned, on the twenty-ninth of September, in the Year, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Ninety-four, to the Port of *Iſabella*, in *Hiſpaniola*, where his Brother, *Bartholomew Columbus* had arrived, ſome Months before Him.

The Reader hath already been informed of the Motives which induced *Bartholomew* to repair to *England*, and of the Diſaſters which befell Him on his Paſſage thither. Being deſtitute both of Money, and Friends, He prudently exerted his abilities, in that caſt where they were the moſt conſpicuous, and earned a moderate Subſiſtence by drawing Maps, and making Globes. After a Length of Time, He, by a rigid Frugality, had ſaved enough to enable Him to appear, with Decency, at Court. Accordingly, on the thirteenth of February, in the Year, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Eighty-eight, He was introduced to *Henry*, the Seventh, and after having preſented Him with a Map of the World (*l*), delivered in the Propoſals of his Brother, for

(*l*) On it, were the following inelegant Lines, which are quoted only becauſe they confirm ſome Paſſages in the Memoirs of *Columbus*.

Terrarum

for the Diſcovery of foreign Countries. Some Hiſtorians have affirmed that the King rejected them as unworthy of his Notice; but *Ferdinand Columbus*, who wrote the Life of *Chriſtopher*, his Father, expreſsly ſays that *Henry* accepted of them *with a joyful Countenance* (*m*), and deſired that He would repair immediately to *England*. But the Invitation arrived too late. *Bartholomew* who was intruſted to deliver it to his Brother, having been detained by a Series of diſtreſsful Circumſtances, did not reach *Spain*, until *Columbus* had been ſupplied through the Intereſt of *Iſabella*, with a ſmall Fleet, and carried into Execution this important Enterprize.

A Naval Writer (*n*) after having obſerved that theſe Facts cannot be called in Queſtion, as they are recorded by *Ferdinand*, the Son of *Chriſtopher*, and the Nephew of *Bartholomew Columbus*; and as the Map drawn by the Laſt was actually extant in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, adds that from our Agreement with the firſt Diſcoverer of a Paſſage for this new World, our Claim to

Terrarum Quicunque cupis feliciter Oras
Noſcere, cuncta decens doctè Pictura docebit
Quæ *Strabo* affirmat, *Ptolemæus*, *Plinius*, atque
Iſiodorus; Non una tamen Sententia Cuique.
Pingitur Hic etiam nuper ſulcata Carinis
Hiſpanis Zona illa prius incognita Genti
Torrida, quæ tandem nunc eſt notiſſima Multis.

Pro Auctore, ſive Pictore.

Genoa cui Patria eſt, Nomen cui *Bartholomæus*
Columbus de Terra Rubra Opus edidit iſtud,
Londinis, *An. Dom.* 1488. atque inſuper Anno,
Octava decimaque Die cum tertia Menſis
Febr. Laudes *Chriſto* contentus abundè.

(*m*) Con allegro Volto.
(*n*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 324.

to the *American* Iſlands was more juſtly grounded than that of the *Spaniards* who poſſeſſed Them, and whoſe Contract with *Chriſtopher Columbus* was poſterior to the Covenant of the King of *England*, with *Bartholomew*. It is ſcarcely neceſſary to anſwer that all the Validity of the Claim is on the Side of *Spain*, in the Services, and at the Expence of which State, *Columbus* was employed. *Henry* only approved of his Propoſals; but *Ferdinand*, and *Iſabella* were at the Charge of enabling Him to accompliſh them. The Crown which *did* aſſiſt (not that which *would* have aſſiſted,) is, alone, intitled to the Lands in Queſtion.

More judicious is the Reaſoning of this Author, when He attempts to vindicate *Henry* from the Charge of Dilatorineſs, in the Support of which no colourable Grounds have been advanced. He remarks that when all Things are more maturely weighed, it will appear, notwithſtanding the Length of Time employed by *Bartholomew* in the Negociation of this Affair, that no Obſtructions to it can be imputed to the King, who, at this Period, was called off from an Attention to other Circumſtances, by the Inſurrections under *Perkin Warbec*, the Expedition againſt *Scotland*, and the Preparations for an Invaſion of *France*. He adds, that it doth not ſeem ſo manifeſt as is imagined, that the *Engliſh* ſuffered by having loſt the Advantages which might have accrued to them from the Diſcoveries of *Columbus*. One Reaſon for this Aſſertion is, in his Opinion, ſo obvious, juſt, and concluſive, that it ſeems to ſuperſede the Reſt. *Spain*, at the Time when She undertook the Diſcovery was one of the greateſt maritime Powers in *Europe*, although ſince her Poſſeſſion of the *Indies*, She is become one of the moſt inconſiderable.

Yet it may be alleged that if the *Engliſh* had firſt taken Poſſeſſion of, and eſtabliſhed Colonies within

thoſe

thoſe Iſlands, They would have acted differently from the *Spaniards*. This Suppoſition is, however improbable. As They *were*, ſo might the *Engliſh*, or any People, have been affected by the Heat of the Climate, the Luxuriancy of the Soil, the Profit of the Mines, or other Circumſtances. So that upon the Whole, there is but little Reaſon either to cenſure the Conduct of *Henry*, or to repine at the Diſpenſations of Providence. The *Spaniards* have purchaſed *Mexico*, and *Peru* too dearly, at the Expence of their Naval Power. The *Engliſh* were abſolutely richer in Virtue of their *Northern* Colonies, which ſo conſiderably augmented their Induſtry, their Commerce, and their Shipping.

At his Return to *Spain*, *Bartholomew Columbus* was graciouſly received by *Ferdinand*, and *Iſabella*, who iſſued an Order for the Equipment of threee Ships, to attend Him with Proviſions, and all neceſſary Stores, to the *Indies*. Thither He ſhortly afterwards ſailed, and arrived, during the Abſence of his Brother, the Admiral, on the Diſcovery of *Cuba*. Their ſubſequent Meeting was equally affecting to both; and *Chriſtopher*, as an endearing Proof of his Expectations from the future Services of *Bartholomew*, conferred on Him the Title, and Office of *Adalantado*, or Lord Lieutenant.

The Wars of *Columbus* againſt the *Indians*, and his Diſſenſions with his Countrymen are foreign to our Purpoſe. Let it be ſufficient to obſerve that in Conſequence of the Animoſities which broke out between Him, and the Vicar-General of the *Pope*, who accuſed Him of having exerciſed unwarrantable Severities againſt the Prieſts, and *Spaniards*, He was recalled to Court; and on the twelfth of March, in the Year one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Ninety-ſix (*o*), ſailed back to *Spain*, to anſwer for his Conduct. When He waited upon

(*o*) From a Memorandum left by *Bartholomew Columbus*.

upon the King, and Queen, He preſented them with the moſt valuable Articles from the *Indies*; Yet theſe, howſoever acceptable, were inſufficient to ſecure Him from ſome violent Reproaches, which, in Conſideration of his former Services, and Sufferings, were not followed by the leaſt Inquiry into his Proceedings, on the Juſtice, or Criminality of which, We have no Grounds to determine. As the Forms of a Trial were deemed unneceſſary, *Columbus*, at leaſt, concluded that He was cleared from all Miſdemeanors with which He had been charged.

The Admiral, intirely reſtored to the Favour of his Sovereigns, was diſmiſſed with Promiſes of Encouragement, and ordered to repair to *Seville*, at which City, another Squadron of Ships, conſiſting of Eight Sail, was equipped for his Service. Two were directed to proceed on the Voyage, before Him, freighted with Ammunition, Proviſions, and other Neceſſaries, for his Bother *Bartholomew Columbus*, who had begun to build a City, which in Reverence to the Memory of his Father, He called *Santo Domingo*. This was the Capital of *Hiſpaniola*, on the *South* Side of the Iſland, and at the Mouth of the River *Ozama*. On the nineteenth of May, in the Year, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Ninety-ſeven, the Admiral proceeded with the remaining Ships, from *Saint Lucar de Barrameda*, and having reached the *Maderas*, He ordered three of them, on board of which were three hundred Men, to ſail immediately to *Hiſpaniola*. With the other Three, He kept near the Line, where the exceſſive Heats, attended by continual dead Calms, proved fatal to many of the Crew. At length, a Breeze ſpringing up, He proceeded on his Voyage, and, ſoon afterwards (*p*), diſcovered an Iſland which He named *La Trinidada*, or the *Trinity*,

(*p*) Auguſt 1, 1497.

ty, near that Part of the Continent now called *Andaluſia*. From thence, He ſailed along the Coaſt, trading with the Natives for Gold, and Pearl, and giving Names to all particular Places; but He did not then know that it was the Continent. Suppoſing that his Preſence was now become neceſſary at *Hiſpaniola*, He returned, by the ſame Courſe, towards *Trinidada*, diſcovered the Iſland of *Margarita*, and, at laſt, arrived at *Santo Domingo*, where He was received as Governor. The Admiral muſt, however, have been engaged in making theſe Diſcoveries, during a longer Space of Time, than is mentioned in his Memoirs; ſince it appears that He did not return to *Santo Domingo* until the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, in the Year, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Ninety-eight.

Hiſtorians have fallen into Miſtakes concerning the Departure of *Chriſtopher Columbus*, on his Third Voyage. Two Accounts, name the nineteenth of May, in the Year one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Ninety-ſeven. It is obſerved by his Son *Ferdinand*, that ten, or twelve Months had elapſed, previous to his obtaining the two Ships which were ſent before, and ſailed in February of the Year, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Ninety-eight, and that the Admiral ſtayed to ſolicit for ſuch a Fleet as might be neceſſary, on his Return to the *Indies*. It is added, that He was obliged to reſide, more than a Twelve-Month, partly at *Burgos*, and partly at *Medina del Campo*, where, in the Year, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Ninety-nine, the King, and Queen of *Spain*, conferred on Him many Favours, and directed Him to haſten the neceſſary Preparations for his Enterprize. Yet, in another Paſſage, *Ferdinand* contradicts Himſelf, and remarks that the Admiral ſet Sail from the Bay of *Saint Lucar de Barrameda* with ſix Ships, on the thirtieth of May, in the

Year

Year, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Ninety-eight. The moſt probable Account is, that the two Ships were diſpatched ſome Time in the Year, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Ninety-ſeven; and that *Columbus* departed in the Month of May of the following Year. This will agree with the Time of his Arrival, as mentioned by his Brother (*q*). That He could not be in *Spain*, in May of the Year, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Ninety-nine, is evident from the Date of a Letter (*r*) ſent to Him, at the *Indies*, from King *Ferdinand*, and the Queen *Iſabella*, after Accounts had been received of his Arrival.

When *Columbus* had made his third Voyage, ſeveral private Adventurers fitted out Ships in *Spain*, particularly *Alonzo de Ojeda* (*s*), with whom went *Americus Veſpuſius*, who gave his Name to *America*. With more Propriety, (as is obſerved by *Purchas*,) might it have been called *Cabotia*, or *Sebaſtiano*, ſince, although *Columbus* diſcovered ſome of the *American* Iſlands, before, He did not ſee the Continent, until the Year, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Ninety-eight: Whereas *John* and *Sebaſtian Cabot*, diſcovered it in the preceding Year.

On his Arrival at *Hiſpaniola*, *Columbus* found the *Indians* in Arms, and preparing to attack the *Spaniards*, by whom They had frequently been defeated. In one Action, *Bartholomew*, the Brother of the Admiral, at the Head of a conſiderable Force, took Priſoners fifteen of their *Caciques*, or Kings, and their chief General *Guarinoex*, all of whom He releaſed, on their Promiſe to live in Subjection to the King of *Spain*. Soon afterwards the *Spaniards* mutinied, and ſeparated themſelves from the Reſt: A Circumſtance more alarming than the Inſurrection of the Natives.

The

(*q*) Note *a*, Page 99.
(*r*) May 21, 1499.
(*s*) 1499.

The Conduct of *Bartholomew* had, on ſeveral Occaſions, exaſperated the *Spaniards*, who drawing up a Memorial of their Grievances, tranſmitted it to the *Court*. Accordingly, *Franciſco de Bovadilla* was directed to ſail immediately to *Hiſpaniola*, and furniſhed with Inſtructions for his Proceedings. He arrived at *Santo Domingo*, in Auguſt of the Year, one Thouſand, and five Hundred, and having heard the Accuſations againſt *Chriſtopher*, and *Bartholomew Columbus*, gave Orders, although They were not convicted of any flagrant Crime, that They ſhould be put in Irons, and ſent to *Spain*. Here, after a ſhort Perſecution, *Chriſtopher* was reſtored to his Rank of *Admiral*, but, in Violation of a ſolemn Contract, deprived of his Government of the *Weſt-Indies*; yet amuſed with Promiſes that it ſhould be reſtored to Him. On the Ninth of May, in the Year one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Two, *Columbus*, and his Brother departed from *Spain*, on their laſt Voyage of Diſcovery, with four *Caravelles*, and one hundred, and ſeventy Men. On the twenty-ninth of June, the Admiral arrived before *Santo-Domingo*, in the *Iſland* of *Hiſpaniola*; but was prevented from coming to an Anchor within the Harbour, by Orders from the Governor, *Nicholas de Ovando*. Thus diſappointed, He, on the fourteenth of July, proceeded to the *Weſtward*, and diſcovered the Iſland of *Guanaja*, *Northward* of Cape *Honduras*, in nineteen Degrees of *North* Latitude. Here, He trafficked with the Natives, by whom, when He enquired for Gold, He was directed towards the *Eaſt*. Thither He ſteered his Courſe; and the firſt Land at which He arrived was *Caſinas*, on the Continent, in the Province of *Honduras*, where his Brother diſembarked, and took Poſſeſſion. Sailing farther to the *Eaſt*, He came to a great Point; from whence, proceeding along the *South*

Coaſt, He touched at *Porto Velo*, *Nombre di Dios*, *Belen*, and *Veragua*. Thence, he returned to *Cuba*, and *Jamaica*; but, wanting Veſſels, could not continue his Voyage to *Santo Domingo*. His Crew, now, mutinied, yet were reduced to Submiſſion by *Bartholomew Columbus*. The Admiral, after having experienced a Variety of Misfortunes and Diſappointments, went to *Hiſpaniola*, and from thence, returned to *Spain*, in May of the Year, one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Three. Whilſt He was preparing, at *Valladolid*, for a fifth Voyage, He fell ill, and expired on the twentieth of May, in the Year, one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Six; and at the Age of Sixty-four. His funeral Rites were, by Order of the King, magnificently celebrated in the Cathedral of *Seville*; and, on his Tomb, was engraven the following Epitaph:

A CASTILLA, Y A LEON,
Nuevo Mundo dio COLON.

To CASTILE, *and to* LEON,
COLUMBUS *gave a new World.*

MEMOIRS

OF

Sir JOHN CABOT.

AT this Æra, as in the preceding Centuries, the commercial Superiority of the *Venetians* over all the Powers of *Europe*, is evident from a Multitude of Inſtances. Their Harbours were continually crowded with foreign Merchant-men, whilſt their Veſſels proceeded to every trading Port, and returned freighted not only with the Conveniences, but with the Elegancies of Life. Their Factories were eſtabliſhed within the different Towns, and Cities of the *Northern* Kingdoms; and whereſoever They deemed it advantageous to preſerve an Intercourſe, their Agents were appointed to reſide (*a*).

Of Theſe, the greateſt Number had ſettled at *London*, and at *Briſtol*. In the laſt Place, lived *John Gabota*, *Gabot*, or (as our Writers uſually ſtile Him) *Cabot*, by Birth, a *Venetian*; but of whoſe Family, there are no Accounts on which We can depend: A Circumſtance of little Conſequence in the Life of any Man;

(*a*) Libel of Engliſh Politie in keeping the narrowe Sea, Chap. 7, 8, 9.—Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 442, 443.—P. Charlevoix. Hiſtoire de la nouvelle France, Tom. I. p. 4.

and leſs ſo, in that of One who ſeems ſufficiently ennobled by his Enterprizes.

It may reaſonably be concluded that *John Cabot* had reſided long in *England*, as his Son *Sebaſtian*, a Native of *Briſtol*, was old enough to accompany Him, on his firſt Voyage (*b*). Being much verſed in the Arts of Navigation, and the Knowledge of Coſmography, (to which alſo, He had trained his Children,) He was induced to imagine, from the Succeſs of *Columbus*, that Lands might probably be diſcovered to the *North Weſt*. Imparting his Conjectures to *Henry*, the Seventh, that Prince, who ſeized, by Intuition, on all Occaſions which promiſed an Increaſe of Wealth, directed Him to prepare, immediately, for his Voyage, and, at the ſame Time, inveſted Him with a Commiſſion (*c*), of which the following is a Tranſlation.

HENRY, by the Grace of GOD, King of *England*, and *France*, and Lord of *Ireland*, to All to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come, Greeting.

Be it known that We have given, and granted; and, by theſe Preſents, do give, and grant, for Us, and our Heirs, to our well-beloved *John Cabot*, Citizen of *Venice*, to *Lewis*, *Sebaſtian*, and *Sanctius*, Sons of the ſaid *John*, and to their Heirs, and Aſſigns, and Every of Them, full, and free Authority, Permiſſion, and Power, to ſail to all Parts, Countries, and Seas of the *Eaſt*, of the *Weſt*, and of the *North*, under our Banners, and Enſigns, with five Ships, of what Burden, or Quantity ſoever They be, and as many Mariners, or Men, as They may deſire to have with them, in the

(*b*) Petri Martyris ab Angleria de novo Orbe, Dec. 3. Lib. 6.—Lopez de Gomara Hiſtoria General de las Indias, Lib. 2. C. 4.—Navigationi, et Viaggi Raccolti da M. Gio. Batt. Ramuſio, Tom. III. in Proœmio.

(*c*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 12. p. 595.—Hackluyt's Collection of Voyages, V. 3. p. 4.

the ſaid Ships, upon their own proper Coaſts, and Charges; to ſeek out, diſcover, and find whatſoever Iſles, Countries, Regions, or Provinces of the Heathens, and Infidels, and whatſoever They be, and in what Part of the World ſoever They be, which before this Time, have been unknown to all *Chriſtians*. We have granted to Them, their Heirs, and Aſſigns, and to Every of Them, and have given Them Licence to ſet up our Banners, and Enſigns, in every Village, Town, Caſtle, Iſle, or Main Land, of Them, newly found. And that the aforeſaid *John*, and his Sons, or their Heirs, and Aſſigns may ſubdue, occupy, and poſſeſs, as our Vaſſals, and Lieutenants, getting unto Us the Dominion, Title, and Juriſdiction of the ſame Villages, Towns, Caſtles, and firm Land ſo found, on Condition, however, that the aforeſaid *John*, and his Sons, and Heirs, and their Deputies be bound, and obliged of all the Fruits, Profits, Gains, and Commodities ariſing from ſuch Navigation, for every their Voyage, as often as They ſhall arrive at our Port of *Briſtol*, (to which Port only They ſhall always be obliged to return) (all Manner of neceſſary Coſts, and Charges, by Them made being firſt deducted,) to pay unto Us, in Wares, or Money, the fifth Part of the capital Gain ſo gotten. We giving, and granting unto Them, and to their Heirs, and Deputies, that They ſhall be free from all Payment of Cuſtoms, of all, and ſingular ſuch Merchandize, as They ſhall bring with Them from thoſe Places ſo newly found. And, Moreover, We have given and granted to Them, their Heirs, and Aſſigns, and every of Them, That all the firm Lands, Iſles, Villages, Towns, Caſtles, and Places, whatſoever They be, that they ſhall chance to find, may not be frequented, or viſited by any other of our Subjects, without the

Licence of the aforeſaid *John*, and his Sons, and their Aſſigns, under the Pain of Forfeiture, as well of their Ships, as of all, and ſingular Goods of all Them that ſhall preſume to ſail to thoſe Places ſo found: Willing, and moſt ſtrictly commanding all, and ſingular Our Subjects, as well on Land, as on Sea, to give good Aſſiſtance to the aforeſaid *John*, and his Sons, and their Aſſigns; and that, as well in arming, and furniſhing their Ships, and Veſſels, as in Proviſion of Food, and in Buying of Victuals for their Money, and all other Things, by them to be provided, neceſſary for the ſaid Navigation, They do give them all their Help, and Favour. Witneſs Ourſelves, at *Weſtminſter*, the fifth Day of March, in the eleventh Year of our Reign.

We learn from a Record of the Rolls (*d*), that although the Letters Patent had been granted to *John Cabot*, in the Year, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Ninety-ſix, yet it was not until the ſucceeding Year, that any Preparations were made for a Naval Equipment. The King, then, defrayed the Expences of fitting out a Ship at *Briſtol*, the Merchants of which City,

(*d*) "Billa ſignata, Anno. 13 Henrici Septimi."

"Rex, tertio Die Februarii, Anno 130 Licentiam dedit "*Johanni Caboto*, quod Ipſe capere poſſit ſex Naves *Anglicanas*, in aliquo Portu, ſive Portibus Regni *Angliæ*, ita "quod ſint de Portagio ducentorum Doliorum, vel ſubtus, "cum Apparatu requiſito, et quod recipere poſſit in dictas "Naves omnes tales Magiſtros, Marinarios, et Subditos "Regis qui cum Eo exire voluerint."

"The King, upon the third Day of February, in the "thirteenth Year of his Reign gave Licence to *John Cabot* "to take ſix *Engliſh* Ships, in any Haven, or Havens of the "Realm of *England*, being of the Burden of two hundred "Tons, or under, with all neceſſary Furniture; And to "take alſo into the ſaid Ships, all ſuch Maſters, Mariners, "And Subjects of the King, as might be willing to go with "Him."—Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 6.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. "3. p. 461, 807.

City, together with Thoſe of *London*, furniſhed four ſmall Veſſels, each of which was laden with the various Articles neceſſary for the Enterprize.

On board of this Fleet, *John Cabot*, his Son *Sebaſtian*, and their Aſſociates embarked, in the Spring of the Year, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Ninety-ſeven (*e*). Although an Hiſtorian of conſiderable Credit (*f*) hath aſſerted that *John Cabot* had promiſed *Henry* that He would diſcover a rich Iſland, it is evident that his chief undertaking was to find a *North-Weſt* Paſſage to the *Indies*; ſo that He appears to have reaſoned in the ſame Manner that *Columbus* did, who imagined that as the *Portugueſe* by ſailing *Eaſt*, arrived at the *Weſtern* Coaſt of the *Indies*, ſo He, by ſailing *Weſt*, might reach their oppoſite Shore. This, and his Diſcovery of the Iſland of *Baccalaos*, or *Newfoundland*, moſt probably gave riſe to the Miſtake in the Chronicle, by *Fabian*.

The Fleet ſailed on a *North-Weſt* Courſe, until the twenty-fourth of June, in the ſame Year, when the Land was diſcovered by *John Cabot*. Of this, and ſeveral Places, He took Poſſeſſion in the Name of the King of *England*. He afterwards ſailed to *Cape Florida*, and from thence, returned with a valuable Cargo, and three Savages, to *England*. For theſe Services, He was knighted; as appears from the Inſcription under his Picture, on one Side of the Map of his Diſcoveries, (drawn by *Sebaſtian Cabot*, and cut by *Clement Adams*,) placed in the Privy Gallery, at *Whitehall* (*g*).

On the ſame Map is an Account of the Diſcovery written in *Latin*, of which the following is a Tranſlation.

(*e*) Fabian's Chronicle.

(*f*) Ibid.—Stowe.

(*g*) "Effigies Seb. Caboti. Angli, Filii Jo. Caboti, Venetiani, Militis Aurati, &c.—Hackluyt's Voyages, V. 3. p. 461, 807.

In the Year of our Lord, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Ninety-ſeven, *John Cabot*, a *Venetian*, and his Son *Sebaſtian* (with an *Engliſh* Fleet,) ſet out from *Briſtol*, and diſcovered that Land which no Man before had attempted. This Diſcovery was made on the twenty-fourth of *June*, about five o'Clock in the Morning. The Land He called *Prima Viſta*, (or Firſt-Seen,) becauſe it was that Part of which They had the firſt View from the Ocean. The Iſland which lies out before the Land, He called the Iſland of *Saint John*, probably becauſe it was diſcovered on the Feſtival of *Saint John*, the *Baptiſt*. The Inhabitants wore Beaſts Skins, and eſteemed them as the fineſt Garments.

To this Account, a Collector of Voyages (*h*) adds that in their Wars they uſed Pikes, Bows, and Arrows, Darts, Clubs of Wood, and Slings. The Soil, in ſome Places, were extremely barren; and, in all produced but little Fruit. White Bears were ſeen in Abundance, and Stags much larger than Thoſe of *Europe*. The Seas, and Rivers, yielded Plenty of Fiſh, particularly Seals, and Salmon. Seals were found *above a Yard* in Length, and Multitudes of thoſe Fiſhes which the Savages called *Baccalaos*. On the Iſland were Eagles, Hawks, and Partridges, the Feathers of which were as black as Thoſe of a Raven.

A more important Diſcovery could ſcarce have been made; and this was, in Fact, the firſt Time that the Continent of *America* had been ſeen. To *Columbus* it was not known, until his laſt Voyage, which was in the following Year, when He coaſted along a Part of the *Iſthmus* of *Darien*. It is ſomewhat extraordinary that the *Engliſh* Writers, and particularly Thoſe who lived under the Reigns of *Elizabeth*, and *James* the Firſt, and probably, were the Contemporaries of *Sebaſtian*

(*h*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 461, 807.

baſtian Cabot, ſhould have delivered theſe Matters ſo confuſedly, that later Hiſtorians (*i*) have been induced to doubt, whether *John Cabot* made any Diſcoveries at all. *Purchas* (*k*), *Stowe* (*l*), and *Speed* (*m*), ſeem to have aſcribed them wholly to *Sebaſtian*; and that, without any Mention of his Father: Yet, in the Chronicle written by *Fabian*, who was living at this Æra, We find the following remarkable Paſſages.

"In the Year one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Ninety-ſix, (by Means of one *John Cabot*, a *Venetian*, who made Himſelf very expert, and cunning in the Knowledge of the Circuit of the World, and Iſlands of the Same, as by a Sea-Card, and other Demonſtrations, reaſonable He ſhewed), the King cauſed to man, and victual a Ship, at *Briſtol*, to ſearch for an Iſland, which, (He ſaid) He knew well, was rich, and repleniſhed with great Commodities; which Ship, thus manned, and victualled at the King's Coſt, divers Merchants of *London*, ventured, in Her, ſmall Stocks, the ſaid *Venetian* being as chief Patron. And in the company of the ſaid Ship, ſailed alſo out of *Briſtol*, three or four ſmall Ships, freighted with ſlight, and groſs Merchandizes, as coarſe Cloth, Caps, Laces, Points, and other Trifles. And ſo departed from *Briſtol*, in the Beginning of May, of whom in this Mayor's Time returned no Tidings."

"In the fourteenth Year of the Reign of *Henry*, the Seventh, there were brought unto Him, three Men taken in the New-found Iſland. Theſe were cloathed in Beaſts Skins, and did eat raw Fleſh, and ſpake ſuch Speech that no Man could underſtand Them; and, in their

(*i*) Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, Folio, V. 1. p. 86.
(*k*) Vol. III. p. 602.
(*l*) Annals, p. 480.
(*m*) Chronicle, p. 744.

their Demeanour were like brute Beaſts, whom the King kept a Time after, of the which, about two Years after, I ſaw two apparelled after the Manner of *Engliſhmen*, in *Weſtminſter Palace*, which, at that Time, I could not diſcern from *Engliſhmen*, till I was learned what they were; but as for Speech, I heared none of them utter one Word."

Thus, it appears from the Teſtimony of a contemporary Writer, that the Diſcovery was made by *Sir John Cabot*, the Father of *Sebaſtian*; a Circumſtance which, without this Authority, might reaſonably have been inferred, ſince it is evident that *Sebaſtian Cabot*, who (as will be ſhewn hereafter,) was living in the Year, one Thouſand, five Hundred, and fifty-ſeven, could not have been more than twenty Years of Age, at the Period, when this Voyage was taken; and when, although He might have accompanied his Father, He was certainly too young to be intruſted with the Management of the Enterprize (*n*). It is probable that *John Cabot* died in *England*, but when, or where, We have not been able to diſcover (*o*).

It hath alſo been remarked that Sir *John Cabot*, and his Son *Sebaſtian*, ſailed, previous to the Expedition undertaken, at the Command of *Henry*, in Order to find out the *North-Weſt* Paſſage; and that, during this Voyage, They diſcovered the Iſland which was afterwards called *New-Found-Land*. An accurate Inveſtigator

(*n*) This Detail hath been collected from a Letter written to *Doctor Leigh*, by a *Mr. Thorne*, of *Briſtol*, and the Son of a Merchant (of that City,) who in Conjunction with Mr. *Elliot*, fitted out the *Cabots*; as, alſo, from the Accounts delivered by *Sebaſtian Cabot*; and from the Relations of *Hackluyt*, *Eden*, and *Purchas*.

(*o*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. I. p. 340, 341.

gator of the Subject (*p*) obſerves that He, alſo, ſhould incline to this Opinion, if it could be clearly reconciled to thoſe Authorities which He had conſidered ſo attentively. Howſoever Accounts may differ, it is beyond a Doubt, that Sir *John Cabot* was the original Diſcoverer, of which Honour He ought not to be deſpoiled, even by his Son; with whoſe Memoirs, the Reader ſhall be preſented in their proper Place.

(*p*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 340, 341.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

NAVAL, COMMERCIAL, and MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS, during the REIGN of HENRY the EIGHTH.

THE Satisfaction with which a People ſo long expoſed to the Oppreſſions of a Tyrant received the News of his Demiſe, was increaſed by the Idea that *Henry* the Eighth, in the Flower of his Age, active, ſpirited, generous, accompliſhed, and, to all Appearance, the Reverſe of his Predeceſſor, was born for their Felicity. When with ſincere, and univerſal Joy, They welcomed his Acceſſion (*a*), and Coronation (*b*), and ſeemed to give him Earneſt for the future Rectitude of his Conduct, how little did They imagine that He would ſhortly prove as mercileſs a Deſpot as his Father! We are happy that an Examination of the worſt Qualities of his Heart, and the moſt diſgraceful Perverſions of his Underſtanding appears foreign to our Subject. In the Review of this execrable Reign, the Feel-

(*a*) April 22, 1509.
(*b*) June 25, 1509.

Feelings of the Reader, will not be wounded by unneceſſary Digreſſions. Our Inquiries concerning the State of Trade, and Navigation will ſeldom lead us to unfavourable Concluſions againſt the Character of *Henry*. Here and, perhaps, Here only, it may not be reproachable.

The firſt Naval Armament was equipped in the Year one Thouſand five Hundred, and Eleven, when four royal Ships (on board of which embarked Sir *Thomas Darcey*, at the Head of fifteen hundred Archers) ſailed from *Plymouth*, to ſerve under *Ferdinand*, King of *Arragon*, and *Caſtile*, and Father-in-Law to *Henry*, on his pretended Expedition againſt the *Moors*. The Troops diſembarked (*c*) without Loſs, in the *South* of *Spain*, from whence *Ferdinand*, who wanted nothing but their Appearance, to bring his Enemies to Terms, inſtead of employing, diſmiſſed Them, with ſome inconſiderable Preſents. In the Month of Auguſt They arrived in *England* (*d*). A like Aid was ſent, under the Command of Sir *Edward Poynings*, to the Duke of *Burgundy*, then at War againſt the Duke of *Gueldres*. Having ſucceeded in their Enterprize, They ſoon afterwards returned home (*e*).

In Auguſt of the Year one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Twelve, a remarkable Engagement (which ſhall be mentioned, hereafter,) happened between the *Engliſh*, and *French* Fleets. Another royal Squadron put to Sea, in the Month of March, of the following Year, on the twenty-fifth of April, came to an Action

(*c*) June 1, 1511.

(*d*) Hall, Folio 11.—Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 808.—Ferreras. Hiſt. de Eſpan. P. 12. Sec, 16.

(*e*) Grafton's Chronicle, p. 958.—Stowe, p. 488.—Cooper, folio 274.—Rymer's Fœdera, V. 13. p. 302.—Hall, folio 13, 14.

Action with the *French*. The Particulars of this will, alſo, be related in another Place. In Auguſt, *Henry* paſſed over, with a numerous Army, to *France*, ſome Parts of which He conquered, whilſt the Fleet ravaged the Coaſts. Alarmed at theſe Succeſſes, the *French* King ſued for and obtained a Peace, on the Concluſion of which He married *Mary*, the Siſter of *Henry*, who, with his Queen, conducted Her to *Dover*. Here, They were detained ſome Time, a violent Storm ariſing, during which a royal Ship called the *Lubeck*, was driven aſhore before *Sandgate*, and there wrecked, whereby, of ſix hundred Men, ſcarcely three hundred eſcaped(*f*). On the ſecond of October in the Year, one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Fourteen, the Princeſs embarked, attended by the Duke of *Norfolk*; the Marquis of *Dorſet*; the Earl of *Surrey*, Admiral; the Earl of *Worceſter*; Sir *Andrew Windſor*; and ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction (*g*). They had not long proceeded on their Voyage, when the Fleet was ſevered by a Tempeſt; Some of the Ships fortunately reached *Calais*; Others were forced on the Coaſt of *Flanders*; and That, in which the Princeſs was, with great Difficulty, made the Harbour of *Boulogne* (*h*). The Marriage was celebrated at *Abbeville*, on the ninth of October (*i*).

The Nuptials of *Lewis*, the Twelfth, were ſhortly afterwards followed by his Death, when *Francis*, the Firſt, aſcended the Throne; and in the Year, one Thouſand five Hundred, and Twenty, prevailed on *Henry*, (who had maintained a State of Amity with this

(*f*) Hall's Chronicle, folio 48.
(*g*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 13. p. 449—Hall, folio 48.
(*h*) Hiſtorical Collections of the Family of Windſor.—MS. in Bibl. Joh. Anſtis, Garter, Reg. Armor. Not. G. XI. p. 197.
(*i*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 13. p. 448.

this Prince, and the Emperor, *Charles*, the Fifth, by alternately aſſiſting Each,) to agree to an Interview between the Towns of *Ardres*, and *Guines*. Not to engage in tedious Deſcriptions of the Magnificence diſplayed, under the Direction of the oſtentatious *Wolſey*, in *the Field of the Cloth of Gold*, let it be ſufficient to remark that *Henry* having erected a ſpacious Houſe of Wood, and Canvas, (which had been framed in *London*, and was ſet apart for the Purpoſe of entertaining the *French* Monarch,) cauſed an *Engliſh* Archer to be embroidered on it, with this Motto: *Cui adhereo præſtat*; *He with whom I ſide prevails*; Thus, intimating that he held the Balance of Power amongſt the Sovereigns of *Europe*; an Advantage which, in the liberal Opinion of a foreign Writer, He maintained during the Remainder of his Life (*k*).

In the Year, one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Twenty-two, freſh Differences aroſe between *Henry*, and the King of *France*, which were conſiderably inflamed by *Charles*, the Fifth, who, during his Abode in *England*, perſuaded *Henry* to ſend againſt the *French* a numerous Army, under the Command of *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*, whoſe military Operations, aſſiſted by the united Fleets of the *Imperialiſts*, and the *Engliſh*, proved fatal to the *French*, and their Allies the *Scots*. When *Henry* perceived that theſe Succeſſes ſerved only to increaſe the Power of *Charles*, He prudently withdrew his Forces, reſolving not to loſe that Superiority which He had before maintained (*l*).

The Peace was concluded between *Henry*, and *Francis*, on Terms extremely advantageous to the Former, in the Year, one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Twenty-

(*k*) Abregè de l'Hiſtoire de France, par Mezeray, Tom. IV. p. 494.

(*l*) Hall.—Herbert.—Godwin.—Dupleix.

Twenty-ſix. We ſhall not, in this Place, take Notice of thoſe Events (connected with our Subject,) which aroſe during the ſucceeding Period of eighteen Years; at the Expiration of which, *Henry* formed an Alliance with the Emperor, againſt the *French*, and prepared, alſo, to invade *Scotland*. Accordingly, Sir *John Dudley*, Viſcount *Liſle*, appointed to the Office of Lord High Admiral, in the Room of the Earl of *Surrey*, aſſembled, at *Newcaſtle*, two hundred Tranſport Ships, on board of which embarked the Earl of *Hertford*, Lieutenant-General of the *North*, and a conſiderable Number of Land-Forces. They ſailed to *Leith*, and, ſoon after their Arrival, attacked, and took the Place (*m*). From thence, They proceeded to *Edinburgh*, which They won by Aſſault, and reduced it, after a Plunder of three Days, to Aſhes. The Citadel made a gallant, and ſucceſsful Defence, notwithſtanding that it was ſtormed, on all Sides, by the *Engliſh* Troops, whom the Lord *Evers*, Warden of the Marches, had joined with a powerful Reinforcement. The Earl of *Hertford*, and Lord *Liſle*, unable to carry their Enterprize into Execution, retired to *Leith*, which they burned, together with the Peer of the Haven. From hence, the Fleet ſailed to ſcour the Coaſts of *Scotland*, and having every where taken, or deſtroyed all the Ships, and ſmaller Veſſels, lying within the Creeks, and Harbours, They returned to *England*. The Progreſs of the Army was equally fatal to the Inhabitants of *Scotland*, and, to add to their Diſgrace, the Earl of *Lennox*, having concluded a Treaty with *Henry*, paſſed over thither in the Month of Auguſt, with a Squadron conſiſting of fourteen Ships, on board of which embarked five Hundred Men, under the Command of ſome *Engliſh*

(*m*) May 5, 1554.

liſh Knights. With this inconſiderable Force, He ravaged the Iſlands of *Arran*, and *Bute*; then proceeding to the Caſtle of *Dunvin*, reduced it to Aſhes; and next, ſubdued, and ranſacked *Kintyre*, and the adjacent Places. From hence, He ſailed to *Briſtol*, to wait for freſh Inſtructions (*n*). In the middle of the Summer, the Duke of *Suffolk* entered the *French* Dominions with a formidable Army, and laid Siege to *Boulogne*, which was blocked up at Sea, by the Admiral Viſcount *Liſle*, who, on the Surrender of the Place, (and previous to the Departure of the King, for *England* (*o*),) was conſtituted Governor, with full Powers to direct the Operations of the War (*p*).

In the Year one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Forty-five, the King of *France*, who ſeverely felt the Loſs of *Boulogne*, aſſembled the Flower of his Troops, and equipped a formidable naval Armament, for the Recovery of this important Place. The Command of the Fleet, which conſiſted of one hundred, and fifty large Ships, together with ſixty Tranſports (*q*), was given to *D'Annebaut*, Admiral of *France*, a Title which, until this Æra, did not imply an Exerciſe of Naval Offices; and even under the Reign of *Francis*, *Bonnivet*, *Brion*, and *all* the Admirals were Land Commanders, amongſt whom, *D'Annebaut* entered, only for this Year, into the Sea-Service (*r*). This Armament

(*n*) Stowe, p. 585.—Speed, p. 782.—Leſlæi de Rebus geſtis Scotorum, Lib. 10. p. 472.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, Folio, V. 1. p. 104.—Rapin's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 6. p. 532.

(*o*) The Sails of the Ship in which Henry embarked were of Cloth of Gold.—Herbert, p. 245.

(*p*) Hall, folio 258. b.—Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 964.—Godwin's Annals, p. 190.—Rymer's Fœdera, V. 15. p. 52.

(*q*) P. Daniel. Hiſtoire de la Milice Francoiſe, V. 2. p. 471.

(*r*) Hiſtoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edouard III. &c. par M. Gaillard, V. 4. p. 334, 335.

ment was reinforced by ten Ships, hired from the *Genoeſe*; and twenty-five Gallies from the *Mediterranean*, under the Command of *Paulin*, Baron *de la Garde*. It was deſigned that the firſt Hoſtilities ſhould be directed againſt the Coaſts of *England*; and that afterwards the whole Fleet ſhould ſail for *Boulogne*, and be ſo ſtationed as to intercept the Succours which might be ſent to it, by Sea, whilſt, on the Land-Side, *Francis* ſhould inveſt it with his Forces.

At the Beginning of this Year, the *Weſtern* Squadrons (according to ſome Hiſtorians) (*s*) took, on their Cruizes, above three hundred *French* Ships, the Lading of which (Wine, Herrings, and other Fiſh,) filled the *Grey Friars* Church, and *Auſtin*, and *Black Friars*, in *London*. It is added that, in the Month of June, before the *French* Fleet put to Sea, an *Engliſh* Squadron, under the Command of the Admiral Viſcount *Liſle* entered the Mouth of the *Seine*, where lay two hundred Ships, and twenty-ſix Gallies. The *Engliſh*, with ſixty Sail of Ships, judged it moſt prudent to avoid a direct Attack upon the whole Fleet, and only exchanged ſome Shot with them, thereby occaſioning the Gallies to venture out. At the Commencement of the Action, the Advantage, owing to a Calm, was on the Side of the Gallies: At length, a violent Storm aroſe which prevented them from keeping the Sea; and the *Engliſh* Ships, to avoid the Flats, ſtood off, and ſailed to *Portſmouth*, where *Henry* then reſided, in Order to haſten by his Preſence, the Naval Operations for the War, with *France*. We may, however, doubt the Truth of this Relation, as it appears that when the *French* Fleet arrived, in the ſucceeding Month, at Saint *Helen's*, only ſixty Ships were in Readineſs to oppoſe Them (*t*).

(*s*) Holingſhed.—Stowe.
(*t*) Ledıard's Naval Hiſtory, Folio, V. 1. p. 105.

Previous to the Departure of his Fleet, and at a Time, when *Francis* was preparing to conduct the Ladies on Board to a magnificent Entertainment, the Admiral's Ship, the *Carraçon* took Fire: and, notwithſtanding all Endeavours to prevent the Accident, was burnt to the Water's Edge. A *French* Writer (*u*) obſerves that She mounted an hundred large braſs Cannon. Compared with what are now called ſuch, They undoubtedly were ſmall, the Ship having been only of eight hundred Tons Burden (*x*). Yet She certainly was the ſtouteſt in the *French* Navy. A Contemporary Hiſtorian (*y*) likens Her to a huge Caſtle, and abſurdly remarks that She had nothing to fear at Sea, but Fire, and Rocks. On Board, was the Money for the Payment of the Troops, which, being ſaved with Difficulty, was removed to another Ship, and nearly loſt in *That*, which ſunk off Saint *Helen's* Point, on the Day after the firſt Engagement with the *Engliſh* Fleet (*z*).

Whilſt *Henry* remained at *Portſmouth*, He was informed that the Squadrons of the Enemy were approaching; and to oppoſe them, iſſued Orders that all the Ships in Readineſs, amounting to about an hundred Sail, ſhould proceed to *Spithead*. During this ſhort Paſſage, the *Mary-Roſe*, one of the largeſt Ships in the *Engliſh* Navy, and commanded by Sir *George Carew*, was unfortunately ſunk. A celebrated naval Writer (*a*) (who will be ſeen to differ from a contemporary *French* Hiſtorian (*b*)) obſerves that this Loſs was occaſioned by a little Sway that overſet the Ship, the Ports of which were made within ſixteen Inches of the Water.

(*u*) Memoires de Bellay.
(*x*) Ibid.
(*y*) Balf de Re Navali.
(*z*) Herbert, p. 247.
(*a*) Secretary Burchett.
(*b*) Du Bellay.

ter. The Captain, and all the Crew periſhed. In their Fate, *Henry*, who dined on board that Day, might probably have ſhared, if He had not returned to Land, ſome Hours before the Accident (*c*). A Fleet conſiſting of about ſixty Sail engaged the *French*, until They were ſeparated by the Darkneſs of the Night.

From one Account of the Action (*d*), We learn that the *French* Admiral *D'Annebaut*, perceiving that the *Engliſh* did not advance, availed Himſelf of a Calm, and attacked them with the Gallies, during the Space of an Hour. Then it was (according to this Relation,) that the *Mary-Roſe* was ſunk, and the *Great Harry*, on board of which the Admiral had hoiſted his Flag, ſo ſhattered by the Cannonading, that She, likewiſe, would have been loſt, if the *Engliſh* had not towed Her out of the Reach of the Enemy.

On the Morrow, the *French* Troops made a Deſcent, at three Places, in the Iſle of *Wight*, but were forced to retire with great Loſs, after having plundered the adjacent Villages. Not intimidated by one Repulſe, They ſoon effected a ſecond Landing, and were leſs fortunate than before. The *French* Hiſtorians obſerve that their Intention was to have erected Forts upon the Iſland, in Order to ſecure themſelves in the Poſſeſſion of it. Under theſe Circumſtances, (it is added that) They could have compelled the *Engliſh* to abandon their late Conqueſt of *Boulogne*, and likewiſe have cut off their Navigation to *France*, and *Spain*. That none of theſe Advantages were acquired is imputed to the Puſillanimity of *D'Annebaut*, who, having *only alarmed* the Coaſts, returned ingloriouſly to *France*, with a Fleet of fifty Men of War, ſixteen Ships of Burden,

(*c*) Sir William Monſon's Tracts.

(*d*) P. Daniel. Hiſtoire de la Milice Francoiſe, V. 2. p. 473.

and fifteen Gallies. On this Occaſion, He ſailed towards *Porteto*, a ſmall Creek, at the Diſtance of half a Mile from *Boulogne*. Having approached the Coaſt of *Suſſex*, He lay to, whilſt a Part of the Troops made a Deſcent, near *Brighthelmſtone*, and *Newhaven*, from whence they were driven back, with great Slaughter, to the Ships. A Body of four thouſand Men diſembarked, afterwards, at *Portet*, but were commanded, as the Wind changed ſuddenly to the *Eaſtward*, to repair on board the Fleet, which ſailed again for the *Engliſh* Coaſt. The Admiral Viſcount *Liſle*, whoſe Armament conſiſted of an hundred Ship, having received Orders from the King to give Battle to the Enemy, ſoon came up with, and engaged them. The two Fleets, after a ſevere Conflict, were ſeparated in the Night. The *French* proceeded to *Havre de Grace*; and thus, ended the moſt important Enterprize which They had ever undertaken, on the Seas. Their Coaſts were, now, viſited in their Turn, by the *Engliſh* Admiral, who, having deſtroyed thirty Ships, within the Harbour of *Treport*, whilſt ſix thouſand of the Troops were engaged in demoliſhing the Town, and Abbey, returned, without any conſiderable Loſs, to *Portſmouth* (*e*).

As a naval Hiſtorian hath only ſlightly mentioned (*f*) this remarkable Engagement, it may be proper to inſert the moſt particular Account of it from the Memoirs of a contemporary Author (*g*).

The Fleet aſſembled on this Occaſion, by the *French*, conſiſted of one Hundred, and fifty large Ships of War, fifty Tranſports, and twenty-five Gallies. All theſe failed,

(*e*) Dupleix, Tom. III,—Mezeray, Tom. IV. p. 633.—Grafton, p. 1276.—Herbert, p. 249.—Rapin's Hiſtory of England, V. 6. 8vo. p. 536, 537, 538.

(*f*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 106.

(*g*) Memoires du Bellay.

ſailed, on the ſixth of July, in the Year, one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Forty-five, from the ſeveral Ports of *Havre de Grace*, *la Foſſe D'Eure*, *Honfleur*, *Harfleur*, and *Dieppe*, directing their Courſe towards the Iſle of *Wight*, and the Harbour of *Portſmouth*, in which laſt Place, lay the chief Strength of the *Engliſh* Navy.

On the eighteenth of the ſame Month, the Admiral *d'Annebaut* arrived off the Iſle of *Wight*, and diſpatched four Gallies, under the Command of the Baron *de la Garde*, to ſurvey it as far as Saint *Helen*'s Point, and, at the ſame Time to diſcover the Force and Situation of the *Engliſh* Fleet. According to his Report, the Laſt amounted to ſixty tall Ships of War, fourteen of which had taken the Opportunity of a Land-Wind to ſail from *Portſmouth*, with as much Alacrity, good Order, and apparent Unconcern, as if their Deſign had been to riſque a Battle with the Enemy. In the mean Time, the *French* Admiral advanced with the Gallies, and, ſoon afterwards, the whole *Engliſh* Fleet proceeded from the Harbour, and began the Action. It was long and ſharply maintained with equal Advantages on both Sides; at laſt, the *Engliſh* retreated, under Shelter of the Land, to a Place where They were ſecured by the Batteries erected on the Heights which overlooked the Shore, and by the Sands, and Rocks, which traverſing the Road, left only an oblique, and narrow Inlet, but juſt ſufficient for a few Ships to paſs in Front. This Retreat, and the approaching Night put an End to the Engagement, during which the *French* Gallies received but little Damage, notwithſtanding the continual Fire from the Cannon, and ſmall Arms of the Enemy.

During the Night, the Admiral *D'Annebaut* fixed on the Order of Battle, for the following Day. He

placed his own Ship, ſupported by thirty ſelect Veſſels, in the Front. The Lord *de Boutieres* commanded a Squadron of thirty-ſix Ships, on the Right; and the Baron de *Curton* another of the ſame Number, on the Left. The *Engliſh* Fleet being advantageouſly ſtationed, it was directed that the Gallies ſhould, at Day-Break, advance towards Them, as they rode at Anchor; and by firing furiouſly upon Them, provoke Them to an Engagement, in which, if They ſucceeded, They were, by retreating, to draw Them out towards the Main Battle. This Order was executed with great Intrepidity, whilſt a Calm (ſo favourable to the Gallies, which were eaſily worked,) prevented the *Engliſh* Ships from making the leaſt Way. More lofty, and bulky than the Gallies, They were expoſed to every Shot; nor could their own Artillery be levelled, with any Certainty, againſt Veſſels which, by the Help of Oars might quickly ſhift their Stations to a ſafer Diſtance.

Fortune favoured the *French* Fleet in this Manner, for above an Hour, during which Time amongſt other Damages ſuſtained by the *Engliſh*, the *Mary-Roſe*, one of their principal Ships, was ſunk by the Cannonading; and of more than five Hundred Men, who were on Board, only thirty-five eſcaped. The Admiral-Ship, the *Great-Harry*, was ſo diſtreſſed, that if She had not been relieved by the Ships which were neareſt to Her, She would have undergone the ſame Fate. Their Damage muſt have been far greater, if the Weather had not changed in their Favour, and delivered them from this Peril; but a Land-Wind ariſing, and the Tide favouring them at the ſame Time, They bore down, full Sail upon the *French* Gallies. So ſudden was the Change that theſe Laſt had ſcarcely Time, and Room to manage their Oars, and tack about: For, during the Calm,

Calm, and in the Heighth of the Battle, They had approached ſo near to the Enemy, that they muſt, inevitably, have periſhed, by the Bearing down of their Ships upon them, if, aided by the Reſolution of their Commanders, and the Alacrity, and Experience of their Mariners and Rowers, they had not ſhifted their Prows, and by this Management, with the Help of their Sails, retreated in a few Hours, to the Diſtance of a Cannon-ſhot. They then accelerated, or ſlackened their Courſe, as ſeemed moſt conducive to their main Deſign of drawing the *Engliſh* out of their Cover.

The Enemy uſed a Kind of light Veſſel or Pinnace (*h*), which was longer that ordinary, in Proportion to its Breadth, and much narrower than the Gallies, but navigated, like them, with Oars, and Sails. This Veſſel, their Mariners could work with ſuch Dexterity, in the Currents of thoſe Seas, that for Swiftneſs, it vied with the Gallies; bearing down upon them with aſtoniſhing Impetuoſity, and ſo violently gauling their Sterns, by a briſk Diſcharge of Artillery, that their Deſtruction appeared inevitable. On the Poop, the Gallies were not furniſhed with any Cannon for Defence, and if They had endeavoured to tack about the *Engliſh* would have been on Board of them, under full Sail, and muſt certainly have ſunk them. Nevertheleſs, the Prior of *Capua*, Brother to the Lord *Stroſſe*, bore reſolutely down upon a Veſſel belonging to the Enemy, which had advanced before the Reſt, and was at the very Stern-poſt of one of our Gallies; but the *Engliſh* Veſſel being ſhorter, and conſequently lighter, ſhifted quicker, and ſoon regained the Fleet, which did not continue the Purſuit any farther. In the mean Time, the Admiral *d'Annebaut*, hav-

(*h*) It rather reſembled a Packet-Boat, or Tender, and was called, in *French*, *Rambargo*.

having arranged his Ships in the Order already deſcribed, gave the Signal for the Battle, believing that the *Engliſh* would continue their Courſe: But he was ſoon undeceived, and found that they were more circumſpect than He imagined. They had only purſued the Gallies, as far as was conſiſtent with Safety, and then retreated towards their Forts, concluding that the *French*, depending upon their ſuperiour Strength, would have followed them, to riſk a Battle, at ſo great a Diſadvantage. In this Skirmiſh, the *French* loſt ſome Galley-Slaves, and a ſmall Number of private Soldiers, but not one Perſon of Diſtinction.

On the following Day, the *French* Admiral, perceiving that the *Engliſh* declined an Action in the open Sea, reſolved to attack Them where They lay. To this End, He ſummoned a Council of the Pilots, Captains, and chief Mariners, to be informed of the Nature, and Circumſtances of the Place, and by what means he might beſt begin the Attack, amidſt the Difficulties, which attended it. *In the true Spirit of a People, whoſe Bravery is never ſeparated from Oſtentation*, He repreſented to Them, how much they were ſuperior to the *Engliſh*, not alone in the Number of Ships, *but in the irreſiſtible Valour of their Men*; and what Advantages muſt accrue to their King and Country, from a Victory, which He believed, was in their Option. The Officers, and Mariners expreſſed a great Willingneſs to engage; but the Sea-Commanders, and Pilots declared it was impracticable, without an evident Loſs. They obſerved that, in Order to attack the *Engliſh*, the Fleet muſt venture into a Channel, where but four Ships could go in Front, and Theſe might be oppoſed by a like Number: It was added, that as they could not ſail in, except with a favourable Wind, and Tide, ſo in the Moment that the firſt Ships were engaged, Thoſe which

which followed would inevitably drive upon them, with the Stream, and ſhatter them to Pieces. They, alſo, repreſented that as They muſt engage the *Engliſh*, under the Cannon of their own Forts, they, would, on that Account, be expoſed to a great Diſadvantage. And that, if They ſhould attempt to grapple, and board them, the Force of the Stream would certainly drive them aſhore, One upon the Other. It was then propoſed to engage, at Anchor; But to this, the Pilots anſwered, that their Cables might be cut; and although that ſhould not be the Caſe, yet the Danger muſt ſtill remain; Since, if they were at Anchor, the Stream, which carried them in, would naturally oblige them to lye with their Sterns, inſtead of their Heads, or Broad-ſides towards the Enemy: Another Difficulty was alſo, ſtarted; and this was, that when They let fall their Anchors, they muſt veer out the Cables, by Degrees, and could not pretend to ſtop the Ships ſhort, becauſe the Force of their Run would either ſink them, or if their Cables ſhould give Way, and They ſhould part from their Anchors, They would then be driven aground, and beaten to Pieces, by the Force of their own Weight.

Theſe Reaſons carried ſo evident a Conviction with them, that there was no Room for oppoſing them. Yet the Admiral, and the other Commanders, fearing leſt the Pilots, who were unanimous in their Opinion, might, through Cowardice, repreſent Matters worſe than in Fact they were, deemed it neceſſary to have the Channel ſounded, and to examine into every Circumſtance relating to the Gulph, that might be of Advantage to the *Engliſh*. For that Purpoſe, He ſent a Boat, on the following Night, with three Pilots, accompanied by the ſame Numbers of Captains, to perform this Commiſſion, for which they had all the Leiſure that could have been deſired. In the Morning, at their

their Return, They not only confirmed the former Repreſentations of the Pilots, but obſerved that the Channel was ſerpentine, and bearing ſo much towards the *Engliſh*, that it would be hazardous for a foreign Ship to attempt entering, with a Pilot, even although She had no Enemy to encounter. This Report being made, in the Preſence of all the Officers, They, next, debated concerning thoſe Meaſures which might be moſt expedient for the Service of the King of *France*.

In the mean Time, the Gallies prepared for their Departure, in the Evening, towards *Calais*, coaſting along the *Iſle of Wight*, in Order to ſtretch over from thence to *Boulogne*. On the Day following, the whole Fleet ſtood off from the Coaſt, the Admiral remaining in the Rear with the Gallies, to bear the firſt Shock of the *Engliſh*, if They ſhould venture out of their Harbours. At firſt, the Wind was ſo favourable that the Ships arrived at the Eminence of *Walſau*, fourteen Leagues diſtant from the Iſle of *Wight*, before the Gallies could come up with Them. Soon afterwards, it blew violently from the *Weſtward*; and the *French* Fleet, obliged to ſeek a Harbour, ſtretched away towards the Coaſt of *England*, for Shelter. Arriving at a Place called *Perrais*, and being detained there by tempeſtuous Weather, and the Swelling of the Sea, They were diſcovered by the *Engliſh*, who now reſolved to attack Them in their Turn. With this View, *Henry* commanded that the Fleet, which now conſiſted of an hundred Ships of War, ſhould put to Sea, with all poſſible Expedition, and take the Advantage of a Wind, which would carry them, with full Sail, towards the Enemy. Amongſt other Reaſons, were two which ſeemed to promiſe him a certain Victory. The one was that the Violence of the Wind, and the Swelling of the Sea, would deprive the *French* of the Uſe,

and

and Service of their Gallies; and the other, that his Fleet, ſailing down upon Them, before the Wind, would oblige Them, without fighting, either to run their Ships aground, where, of Courſe, They would meet Deſtruction, or to paſs the Streights of *Calais*, which could not be accompliſhed, without equal Danger, and Diſorder.

Eeither of theſe Events was naturally to be expected. For, if the *French* waited, without unmooring, till the *Engliſh* came near, the Wind, and Tide, which would bring theſe Laſt down upon their Adverſaries, would force the Firſt aſhore. On the Contrary, were the *French* to unmoor, the *Engliſh*, as They approached, would find them ſeparated by the Violence of the Tempeſt, and on that Account, proceed to the Attack, with ſuperiour Advantages. Again, if the *French*, to obviate all theſe Inconveniencies, ſhould unmoor for ſome Time previous to the Arrival of the *Engliſh*, the Wind, and Currents, would drive them upon the Coaſt of *Flanders*; and were They, once, to paſs the Streight of *Dover*, it would be eaſy for the *Engliſh* to intercept Them, when They endeavoured to return. Beſides, the *French* might, poſſibly, be detained on that Coaſt, until the total Expenditure of their Proviſions; and, in the mean Time, the *Engliſh*, who would probably wait for Them, at *Boulogne*, might be a Hinderance to the Deſign which *Francis* had conceived of raiſing Forts, at this Place. All theſe Inconveniencies were foreſeen by *D'Annebaut*, who was the more anxious to provide againſt them, as He had received Information by a *Fleming*, who left the Fleet, the Night before, that He might expect their Approach, on the ſame Day, or the following Morning.

The *French* Admiral, having maturely weighed all theſe Circumſtances, with the Advice of the Reſt of his Officers,

Officers, came to the following Reſolutions. That at High Water, if the Wind ſhould happen to change, or ſubſide, the whole Fleet ſhould unmoor, and put out to Sea: That They ſhould advance towards the Enemy, in Order to engage on the Ocean, and to gain the Wind; and that whenſoever the Weather ſhould oblige them to come to an Anchor, the Gallies ſhould anchor to the Windward of the Ships, having the ſmall Veſſels near them, with their Sterns cloſe in towards the Shore; and that the large Ships ſhould anchor a little below them, as cloſe together as the Weather would allow; that ſo, the *Engliſh* Fleet, if They ſhould proceed to the Attack, might be obliged, firſt, to paſs by the Gallies, and, on that Account, yield to Them the Advantage of the Wind. Or, if, to avoid this Inconveniency, They ſhould attempt to attack the Gallies, firſt, They might not be able to effect their Purpoſe on Account of the Shallowneſs of the Water, which in that Situation, would not admit the Approach even of their ſmalleſt Ships: Beſides, as the Interval between the Gallies, and the large Ships belonging to the *French* Fleet, would not be wide, it might, probably, happen, that the Enemy, paſſing by the Gallies, might, at the ſame Time, be driven, by the Force of the Current, beyond the Ships alſo.

Theſe Reſolutions having been taken, the *French* remained at Anchor until it was High Water, expecting an Alteration of the Weather; but the Tempeſt raged with equal Violence, during that Day, and obliged them to wait for the Morning-Tide, which proved ſo favourable, not only in Conſequence of a Calm, but likewiſe of a Change in the Wind, that They prepared to depart, and ſhape their Courſe towards the Place where They were informed that They ſhould find the *Engliſh*. By Degrees, the Calm increaſed, and about Noon, ſeveral

ral Sail appeared in Sight, near to which the Gallies were directed to row, in Order to diſcover what they were. Approaching cloſer, They found them to be *Flemings*, and were informed that the *Engliſh* Fleet was not far off. The Admiral *D'Annebaut*, having received this Advice, went on board a large Ship, which He had fixed upon to engage the *Engliſh* Admiral, and commanded the Gallies to advance, and obtain more certain Intelligence, which, by Break of Day, they did, having arrived within Sight of the Enemy. The Admiral, and the whole Fleet, followed them, with all poſſible Expedition; But it was ſo dead a Calm, that the Ships ſcarcely made any more Way, than what They were carried by the Currents. The *Engliſh* having deſcried the *French* Gallies, uſed their utmoſt Endeavours to gain the Wind, that They might not, in the Calm, be ſurrounded by Them and the Adverſe Fleet. The *French* Gallies were equally aſſiduous to poſſeſs the Weather-gage. In this Manner, They ſpent the greateſt Part of the Day, rowing, and ſailing ſo near to each other, that They could eaſily diſcern the Number, and the Force of either Fleet.

All this while, the *Engliſh* Ships ſtood out to Sea, and appeared deſirous to engage, yet cautious not to loſe Sight of their Shore. At length, the *French* perceiving that the Fleet had gained the Weather-gage, and was giving Chace, in excellent Order, no longer diſſembled; but, ſetting their Sails, ſhaped their Courſe, before the Wind, towards the Iſle of *Wight*. The Baron *de la Garde* obſerving this, in Order, to intercept the Enemy, (and give the *French* Time to come up,) reſolved, cloſely, to purſue ſome of their rear-moſt Ships, which, being heavy Veſſels, had fallen conſiderably a-ſtern. This occaſioned the Reſt of the *Engliſh* Fleet to ſlacken their Sails: But the Gale beginning,

imme-

immediately after, to freſhen, yet not cauſing any Swell of the Sea, They returned without the leaſt Diſorder, excepting only, that both Fleets engaged for above two Hours, in ſo cloſe a Fight, that They, with Difficulty, diſcharged their Guns. The *French* Gallies, being low, were the leaſt expoſed to the Cannon of the Enemy. The Conflict muſt have been ſevere, as, on the next Morning, the *French* ſaw a Number of dead Bodies, and a great deal of Timber, ſwimming upon the Surface of the Sea: Not leſs than three hundred Pieces of Cannon were fired on both Sides. During the Engagement, both the Current, and the Wind carried the *Engliſh* Fleet directly towards their Port, and, the Night coming on, put an End to the Combat. At Day-Break, when the *French* looked out for their Adverſaries, They found that They were harboured, and in Safety; the Admiral, therefore, ſteered his Courſe for *Havre de Grace*, to take in Refreſhments, and to put on Shore the ſick Men.

Concerning this naval Action, a *French* Hiſtorian (*i*) remarks that We may perceive, at the firſt View, an Order of Battle more regular, and leſs confuſed, than is found in other Relations, and that the Attack was well concerted. The Fleet was divided into three Squadrons. The Admiral *D'Annebaut*, with thirty Ships, took his Station in the Center, having Monſieur *de Boutieres*, with a Squadron on the Right, and the Baron *de Curton*, with another, on the Left.

The Attack was begun by four Gallies, and, with the Advantage of a Calm, ſo ſucceſsfully conducted, that the *Mary-Roſe*, one of the principal Ships of the *Engliſh* Fleet, was ſunk, with near ſix hundred Men on board; and the *Great Harry*, commanded by the *Engliſh*

(*i*) P. Daniel Hiſt. de la Milice Fr. Tom. II. p. 471.

liſh Admiral would have undergone the ſame Fate, had it not been timely ſuccoured.

When the Breeze ſprang up, the *Engliſh* Ships bore down with full Sails, upon the *French* Gallies; a Circumſtance which muſt have proved fatal to the Laſt, if the Skill, and Intrepidity of all the Commanders had not been particularly exerted. On this Occaſion, the Prior of *Capua* expoſed his Galley, and freed it from the Danger, with equal Reſolution, and Dexterity. All of them returned ſafely to the Fleet, which lay waiting, in Order of Battle, for the *Engliſh*, who retreated to avoid the Fight; or rather to decoy the *French* Ships into a Gulph, where They muſt inevitably have been deſtroyed. The different Motions of the two Fleets were afterwards well regulated, and the Return of That belonging to the *French* concerted with great Prudence.

We learn, alſo, that, during this Æra, the Ships of War were conſtructed with Port-Holes for their Ordnance. It was not, then, a Cuſtom of any Date, neither can it be traced, with Certainty, farther back than the Commencement of the ſixteenth Century, under the Reigns of *Henry*, the Seventh, of *England*, and *Lewis*, the Twelfth, of *France*, in whoſe Time the Ship called *La Charente* carried a greater Number of Guns, than could have been ſtowed, without Port-Holes. Some Authors (but not even with the Appearance of Probability,) make them amount nearly to two Hundred: After the firſt Uſe of Artillery in Naval Armaments, and until this Period, the Cannon of thoſe Ships which mounted any, were placed only upon the Deck, the Prow, and Poop.

It appears, alſo, that in this Engagement, neither the *French*, nor *Engliſh* Ships were much ſupplied with Artillery, ſince M. *du Bellay* conſiders it as an extra-

ordinary Circumſtance that not leſs than three hundred Shot were fired on both Sides, during a Cannonading of two Hours (*k*). Yet, with Submiſſion to our Author (*l*), it may not have been the Want of Artillery, but an Ignorance of the Mode of exerciſing it, which prevented nearly two hundred Ships from firing ſo often as a ſmall Frigate, of the preſent Æra, in half the Space of Time.

Before We quit this Subject, it may not be improper to introduce an Obſervation from the ſame Writer (*m*), and the rather, as it is of equal Force with Reſpect to the Naval Armaments of *France* and *England*.

The Reader muſt be convinced that the largeſt Men of War, in earlier Periods, are not to be compared in Bulk with Thoſe of preſent Times, when He ſhall have been told that the *French* Fleets were fitted out in Harbours where, now Ships of a middling Size have not a Depth of Water ſufficient for their Riding. *Harfleur* was one of the moſt capital of theſe Ports. Yet Sheep feed where formerly a Navy lay at Anchor. The Sea hath withdrawn itſelf to more than the Diſtance of a League; and it is viſible how ſhallow the Water was, at that Æra. When *Francis*, the Firſt, had cauſed the Town of *Havre de Grace* to be built, its Port was the moſt conſiderable Rendezvous for Shipping within the Kingdom. *Breſt* was ſeldom uſed for the aſſembling of Fleets, as being judged too diſtant. *Port Lewis*, and the Harbour of *Rochfort* were, then, neglected. Yet Theſe are all the Harbours in the Ocean where the large *French* Veſſels rode at Anchor.

In the Year, one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Forty-ſix, the *French*, notwithſtanding their ill Succeſs, engaged

(*k*) See alſo De Langey.
(*l*) P. Daniel Hiſtoire de la Milice Françoiſe.
(*m*) P. Daniel. Hiſt. de la Milice Françoiſe, Tom. II. p. 458.

engaged in warlike Preparations for the Siege of *Boulogne*. To facilitate their Deſigns, They endeavoured to cut off all Communication with *Calais*, by firſt reducing, and afterwards fortifying the Sea-Port of *Ambleteuſe*. Eighteen *French* Gallies attacked, within Sight of the Place, four *Engliſh* Ships of the royal Navy, and an equal Number of Pinnaces. Theſe laſt were defended by the Crews with ſuch Conduct, and Intrepidity, that the Enemy retreated with Precipitation, after having loſt one Galley, in which were an hundred, and eighty Soldiers, together with an hundred, and forty Rowers (*n*). On the Land-Side of *Boulogne*, the Earl of *Hertford* had encamped a Body of nine Thouſand Troops, when the *French*, diſcouraged by the naval Defeat of their Confederates, and apprehenſive of the Iſſue of a Battle, judged it neceſſary to raiſe the Siege (*o*).

A noble Author (*p*) hath tranſmitted to us a Relation of the gallant Conduct of ſeven *Engliſhmen*, who, (at this Period,) having been overcome by a far greater Number of the *French*, entered their Ship, under Pretence of eſcaping from their own Bark, then, on the Point of ſinking. Here, They perceived a Quantity of Lime Pots, and watching their Opportunity, filled them with Water, which They threw, ſmoaking, in the Faces of their Adverſaries, who being blinded, fell into the Space between the Decks, as They were running from their Aſſailants, who cloſed the Hatches over Them, and then brought the Ship to *England*.

(*n*) May 18, 1546.

(*o*) Commentaires de Montluc. Tom. I. p. 237.—Memoires du Bellay, Liv. 10.—Hall, Folio 260.—Corps Diplomatique, Tom. IV. Part 2. p. 305.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, V. 1. Folio, p. 111.

(*p*) Lord Herbert, p. 259.

On the ſeventh of June, in the ſame Year, a Treaty of Peace was concluded at *Campe*, a ſmall Place between *Ardres*, and *Guiſnes*, the principal Conditions of which were that *Henry* ſhould retain *Boulogne* during eight Years, or until the Payment of a Debt formerly incurred by *Francis*. It was ſettled at two Millions of Livres, excluſive of a Claim of five hundred thouſand Livres, to be adjuſted afterwards. In this Treaty, the *French* King had taken care to comprehend *Scotland*. Thus, all the Indemnity obtained by *Henry* for one million, three hundred, and forty thouſand Pounds ſterling, (the Expences of the War) (*q*) was a bad, and chargeable Security for a Debt, which was not a Third of the Value (*r*).

At the Concluſion of the Peace, *D'Annebaut*, the Lord High Admiral of *France*, accompanied by ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction, and a Retinue of two hundred Gentlemen, proceeded from *Dieppe*, with twelve Gallies, and a magnificent Ship, called *Le Sacre*, in which, having ſailed up the *Thames*, as far as *Blackwall*, He was viſited by the Earls of *Derby*, and *Eſſex*, who, afterwards attended Him to the royal Barge, from which He landed at *Greenwich*, and waited on the King. The Day following, He came up with his Gallies, and diſembarked at the Tower Wharf, having been ſaluted, during his Paſſage, and, on his Arrival, by a great Number of Guns from the Shore, and the Ships, at Anchor in the River. The Buſineſs of his Embaſſy was to ſwear, in the Name of his Sovereign, that the Articles of the Peace ſhould be performed. The Oath was, accordingly, adminiſtered to Him, with great Solemnity, at *Hampton-Court*, on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt; after which, He returned to *France*.

In

(*q*) Ibid.—Stowe.
(*r*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 4. 8vo. p. 254, 255.

In January, of the following Year, the King's Health, which had long been impaired, declined ſo rapidly, that All who were about his Perſon obſerved that He approached his End. It was with Difficulty that any Courtier could be found ſo bold, and friendly, as to ſpeak of Death, to One who, in the Violence of his Rage, might, probably, have inflicted on Him the ſame Puniſhment which had been ſuffered by Thoſe who had imprudently inſinuated that ſuch an Event muſt happen (*s*). At length, Sir *Anthony Denny* riſqued his own Life, by informing *Henry* that, in a few Moments, He muſt probably, expire; and that it behoved Him to make his Peace with GOD. He anſwered that He was reſigned; and directed an Attendant to ſend for *Cranmer*, who being then at *Croydon*, did not arrive until the King had loſt his Speech; although He ſtill retained his Senſes. That Prelate deſired Him to give ſome Token that He died in the Faith of *Chriſt*. *Henry* ſqueezed his Hand, and immediately expired (*t*), in the thirty-eighth Year of his Reign, and the fifty-ſixth of his Age (*u*).

We now, proceed to a Detail of thoſe Circumſtances which are, in any Wiſe, connected with the Subjects of this Work.

From a Statute paſſed in the third Year of the Reign of *Henry*, the Eighth, there is Reaſon to believe that the proſperous Condition of the Kingdom had been greatly impaired, ſince the Time of *Edward*, the Second. During that Æra, it had been enacted that no

(*s*) Lanquet's Epitome of Chronicles, in the Year 1541.
(*t*) January 28, 1546—7.
(*u*) Hall, Folio, 263.—Grafton, p. 1282.—Stowe, p. 593.—Speed, p. 784.—Godwin, p. 207.—Burnett's Hiſtory of the Reformation, V, 2. p. 350.---Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 977.

Magiſtrate in Town, or Borough, who, by his Office ought to keep Aſſize, ſhould, whilſt He remained in Commiſſion, ſell, either in Wholeſale, or Retail, any Wine, or Victuals. As the Intention of the Law was to prevent Fraud, or private Views in fixing the Aſſize, We cannot doubt of its Equity. Yet in this Reign it is repealed; and for ſuch a Procedure, the following Reaſon is aſſigned by Parliament; that "Since "the making of the aforeſaid Statute, and Ordinance, "many, and the moſt part of all the Cities, Boroughs, "and Towns corporate within the Realm of *England* "are fallen to Ruin, and Decay, and are not inhabited "by Merchants, and Men of ſuch Subſtance, as at "the Time of making that Statute: For, at this Day, "the Dwellers, and Inhabitants of the ſame Cities, "and Boroughs, are commonly Bakers, Vintners, "Fiſhmongers, and other Victuallers, and there re-"main few Others to bear the Offices." Men (obſerves the elegant Hiſtorian (*x*), of whoſe Inveſtigations We again avail ourſelves,) have ſuch a Propenſity to exalt paſt Times above the preſent, that it ſeems dangerous to credit this Reaſoning of the Parliament, without further Evidence to ſupport it. So different are the Views in which the ſame Object appears, that Some may be inclined to draw an oppoſite Inference from this Fact. In the Reign of *Henry*, the Eighth, a more regular Police, and a ſtricter Adminiſtration of Juſtice, than had exiſted at any former Period, was judiciouſly eſtabliſhed. It was this Advantage which induced the Men of landed Property to leave the provincial Towns, and to retire into the Country. Cardinal *Wolſey*, in a Speech to Parliament, repreſented it as a Proof of the Increaſe of Riches that the Cuſtoms

(*x*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 4. 8vo. p. 276.

toms had increaſed beyond what they were, formerly (*y*).

Yet if there really was a Decay of Commerce, and Induſtry, and Populouſneſs in *England*, ſeveral Statutes of this Reign, except by aboliſhing Monaſteries, and retrenching Holidays, Circumſtances of conſiderable Moment, were not, in other Reſpects, well calculated to remedy the Evil (*z*). Attempts were made to fix the Wages of Artificers (*a*); Luxury in Apparel was prohibited by repeated Statutes (*b*), and, probably, without Effect. The Chancellor, and other Miniſters were impowered to fix the Price of Poultry, Cheeſe, and Butter (*c*). A Statute was even paſſed to fix the Price of Beef, Pork, Mutton, and Veal (*d*). Beef, and Pork, were ordered to be ſold at a Halfpenny a Pound: Mutton, and Veal, at a Halfpenny, and half a Farthing, Money of that Age. The Preamble of the Statute obſerves that theſe four Species of Butcher's Meat were the Food of the poorer People. This Act was afterwards repealed (*e*)

The Practice of depopulating the Country, by abandoning Tillage, and throwing Lands into Paſturage, ſtill continued (*f*); as appears by the new Laws which were from Time, to Time, enacted againſt it. Whereſoever any Farm-Houſes were ſuffered to fall to Ruin, the King was intitled to half the Rents of the Land (*g*). That no Advantages accrued to the Proprietors from

(*y*) Ibid.—Hall, folio 110.
(*z*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 4. 8vo. p. 277.
(*a*) 6 Hen. VIII. C. 3.
(*b*) 1 Hen. VIII. C. 14.—6 Hen. VIII. C. 1.—7. Hen. VIII. C. 7.
(*c*) 25 Hen. VIII. C. 2.
(*d*) 24 Hen. VIII. C. 3.
(*e*) 33 Hen. VIII. C. 11.
(*f*) Strype, V. 1. p. 392.
(*g*) 6 Hen. VIII. C. 5.—7. Hen. VIII. C. 1.

from Tillage was, perhaps, owing to an Ignorance of the Art of Huſbandry. The Number of Sheep permitted to be kept in one Flock, was reſtrained to two Thouſand (*h*). The Statute informs us that ſometimes one Proprietor, or Farmer, would keep a Flock of twenty thouſand Sheep. It is remarkable that the Parliament aſcribe the increaſing Price of Mutton, to this Increaſe of Sheep; and that, becauſe, the Commodity having paſſed into few Hands, the Price of it is raiſed at Pleaſure (*i*). It is more probable that the Effect proceeded from the daily Increaſe of Money. That ſuch a Commodity could not be monopolized appears almoſt impoſſible (*k*).

In the Year, one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Forty-four, an Acre of good Land, in *Cambridgeſhire*, was let at a Shilling, or about fifteen Pence of our preſent Money (*l*)! This was ten Times cheaper than the uſual Rent, at Preſent. But Commodities were not above four Times cheaper: A certain Proof of the bad Huſbandry of that Age.

Henry alſo promoted Laws for the Planting, and Preſervation of Timber, and cauſed all the royal Ground on *Hounſlow* Heath to be leaſed, and improved. The Breed of Horſes was encouraged, and amended by various Ordinances. Legal Maintenances were aſſigned to the Poor. The Magiſtrates received Orders to compel the Idle to Labour, and Statutes were enacted relating to Beggars, and Vagabonds (*m*). It is judiciouſly obſerved that this is one of the Circumſtances in Government which Humanity would moſt powerfully recom-

(*h*) 25 Hen. VIII. C. 13.
(*i*) Ibid.
(*k*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 4. p. 278.
(*l*) Anderſon's Hiſtory of Commerce, V. I. p. 374.
(*m*) 22 Hen. VIII. C. 12.—22 Hen. VIII. C. 5, &c.

recommend to a benevolent Legiſlator: which ſeems, at firſt Sight, the moſt eaſily adjuſted; and which is yet the moſt difficult to ſettle in ſuch a Manner, as to attain the End, without deſtroying Induſtry (*n*). The Convents formerly were a Support to the Poor; but, at the ſame Time, tended to encourage Idleneſs, and Beggary (*o*). The Manner of proceeding againſt Pirates was alſo ſettled; Watermen were regulated; Deeds of Bargain, and Sale, directed to be enrolled; and the Security of Property enlarged by Acts reſpecting Wills, and Teſtaments (*p*).

In the Year, one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Forty-ſix, a Law was made for ſettling the Intereſt of Money, at Ten *per Cent*; the firſt legal Intereſt known in *England*. Formerly, all Loans of that Nature were conſidered as Uſurious. The Preamble of this very Law treats the Intereſt of Money as illegal, and criminal: And the Prejudices ſtill remained ſo ſtrong, that the Law permitting Intereſt was repealed in the following Reign (*q*).

The Acts paſſed during the Time of *Henry*, in Order to facilitate, and ſupport the inland Navigation, clearly demonſtrate that the Importance of large Rivers began to be underſtood, and eſteemed more than amidſt the civil Wars, when public Welfare gave Way to private Intereſt. The *Thames*, the *Ouſe*, the *Exe*, the Rivers of *Southampton*, the *Severn*, &c. were freed from Wears, and other Obſtructions. On the ſame Principle, a Law paſſed for rendering the *Medway* deeper, that it might become navigable. The illegal Tolls, and various oppreſſive Duties on the *Severn*, were abo-

liſhed.

(*n*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 4. p. 278.
(*o*) Ibid.
(*p*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 351.
(*q*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 4. p. 279.

liſhed, to preſerve the great Communication, by Means of that ample River, as free as poſſible. The Manufacture of Cables, and other hempen Commodities, which had been the principal Stay of *Bridport*, in *Dorſetſhire*, was ſecured to that Place, by Statute. More than one Law paſſed to prevent the Harbours in *Devonſhire*, and *Cornwall*, from being injured, and choaked up, by the Stream-Works of the Tin-Mines. Another Ordinance was alſo iſſued in Favour of the Port of *Scarborough*; and with Regard to *Dover*, the Harbour of which was falling to Decay, the King expended between ſixty, and ſeventy thouſand Pounds, out of his own Coffer, in building a new Pier, and other neceſſary Works. The *Inhabitants* of *Poole* were, likewiſe, aſſiſted by Him, with conſiderable Sums, for the Purpoſe of repairing their Fort. To *Henry*, are We indebted for the Foundation of the two Yards of *Woolwich*, and *Deptford*, together with the *Guild*, or Fraternity of the *Trinity*. He was the firſt *Engliſh* Monarch who began to build a royal Fleet, appointed Commiſſioners, and inſtituted a Navy-Office. From the *Norman* Invaſion to this Period, there was not any fixed, and conſtant royal Navy, in *England*: The Reader hath already ſeen that, anciently, the Ports, and maritime Towns of the Kingdom fitted out, upon proper Summons, their Quota of Ships of War, for the public Service, and meeting at a certain Rendezvous, put Themſelves under the Conduct of the King, or his Admiral (*r*). Many of the above Meaſures proceeded from the Legiſlature; yet may, with Juſtice, be applied to *Henry*, whoſe Pleaſure was, on all

(*r*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 352.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, Folio, Vol. 1. p. 93.—Public Acts.

all Occaſions conſulted by a Parliament too ſervile to diſobey.

The King was equally ſolicitous to provide for the Security of his Dominions, and, therefore, directed that his Militia, and Navy ſhould always be in Readineſs for Service. To facilitate their Arrival from different Places, He improved the State of the various Fortreſſes, and Havens. *Guines* was rendered impregnable, for the Protection of *Calais*, and *Boulogne* ſufficiently ſtrengthened to reſiſt all the Power of *France*. *Henry*, likewiſe, conſtructed a Caſtle on the Iſle of *Portland*, and at *Hurſt*, to guard *Southampton*, and the adjacent Coaſts: He built the two Forts called *Cowes* for the Defence of the *Iſle of Wight*; *Cambar Caſtle*, to ſecure *Winchelſea*, and *Rye*; *South-Sea Caſtle* to guard *Portſmouth*; *Sandgate*, *Walmer*, *Deal*, and *Sandown* Caſtles, for the Protection of the *Cinque Ports*, and *Queenborough* to cover the other Side of *Kent*. Neither did He neglect the more diſtant Parts of the Iſland, as is evident from the ſtrong, and coſtly Caſtles of *Pendennis*, and *Saint Maws* in *Cornwall*. Even amidſt their preſent Ruins, We may diſcern how Serviceable, and honourable They once were to their Founder, his Succeſſors, and their Subjects (*s*).

In the Year, one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Fifteen, the Parliament paſſed a Law, by which it was provided, for the Encouragement of the Manufacture, that no unwrought Wool ſhould be exported out of the Kingdom. Statutes were alſo, enacted for the Regulation of Meaſures, and to prevent thoſe Frauds in the Making of Pewter, which injured its Sale at foreign Markets.

A Naval Writer (*t*) hath obſerved that *Henry* was an Enemy to Monopolies, and to the Oppreſſion of incorporated

(*s*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 353.
(*t*) Ibid.

porated Companies, whom He reſtrained from making Bye-Laws, againſt the Aſſent of the chief Juſtices. Yet We learn from a ſtill more reſpectable Authority (*u*), that this Reign, as well as many of the foregoing, and even ſubſequent Reigns abounds with monopolizing Laws, confining particular Manufactures to particular Towns, or excluding the open Country, in general (*x*). There remain ſtill too many Traces of ſimilar Abſurdities. In the ſubſequent Reign, the Corporations, which had been opened by a former Law, and obliged to admit Tradeſmen of different Kinds, were again ſhut up by Act of Parliament (*y*); and every Perſon was prohibited from exerciſing any Trade, who was not of the Corporation. During this Reign, the Fees to be paid at the Beginning, and Expiration of Apprenticeſhips, were regulated by a Statute; and all Bonds obtained by Maſters, from their Apprentices, and intended to prevent the Latter from entering into Buſineſs, after They had ſerved their Time, were declared invalid.

An accurate Inquirer (*z*) hath obſerved that the *Engliſh* Commerce, at this Æra, extended itſelf, to a conſiderable Degree, and, eſpecially, towards the newly-diſcovered Lands, in the *North*, to which, a regular Trade was gradually fixed; and, in the *Levant*, encouraged by the great Intercourſe between the King, and *Venice*, and *Genoa*, the two maritime States of *Italy*. Theſe Circumſtances appear authenticated by the following Title to a Patent which *Henry* granted to a *Genoeſe*, appointed to execute, in the Iſle of *Chio*, the Office

(*u*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 4. p. 279.

(*x*) 21 Hen. VIII. C. 12.—25 Hen. VIII. C. 18.—3 and 4 Ed. VI. C. 20.—5 and 6 Ed. VI.—C. 24.

(*y*) 3 and 4 Ed. VI. C. 20.

(*z*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 357.

Office of Conſul to the *Engliſh* Nation. The Original is ſtill preſerved in the Library of the Society for the Propagation of Chriſtian Knowledge. "Exemplar "Literarum pat: *Henrici* Regis octavi in quibus con- "ceſſit *Benedicto Juſtiniani* Mercatori *Genuenſi* Officium, "ſive Locum Magiſtri Protectoris, ſive Conſulis, in- "fra Inſulam, ſive Civitatem de *Scio*. Teſto Rege "apud *Chelſehith*, quinto Die Octobris, Reg: XXIII."

We learn (adds the ſame Author,) from ſuch State Papers of his Reign, as have deſcended to our own Times, that *Henry* availed Himſelf of all his foreign Negotiations for the Advancement of Trade, to which his Agents, *Ley* and *Pace*, the Former employed in *Spain*, and the Latter, at *Venice*, and the *Swiſs Cantons*, bore a ſtrong Attachment. A Plan had been concerted by *Pace*, for the Enlargement of the foreign Trade of *England*, into the Dominions of *Turkey*. This was concealed from *Henry*, through the Arts of *Wolſey*, who, at firſt repreſented *Pace*, as afflicted with Inſanity, and, at length, by flagrant Injuries, reduced Him to it (*a*).

But a Writer (*b*), not leſs unwearied in his Reſearches, acquaints us that the foreign Commerce of *England*, during this Age was moſtly confined to the *Netherlands*. The Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries* bought the *Engliſh* Commodities, and diſtributed them into other Parts of *Europe*. Hence, the mutual Dependance of thoſe Countries on each other, and the great Loſs ſuſtained by Both, in Caſe of a Rupture. During all the Variations of Politics, the Sovereigns endeavoured to avoid coming to this Extremity; and although the King uſually bore a greater Friendſhip to *Francis*, the Nation always leaned towards the Emperor.

In

(*a*) Strype's Memorials, Appendix. Vol. 1.—Herbert.—Burnet.—Wood's Athen. Oxoniens. V. 1. Col. 29.

(*b*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 4. p. 273.

In the Year, one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Twenty-eight, Hoſtilities broke out between *England*, and the *Low-Countries*: The Inconvenience was ſoon felt by both Parties: Whilſt the *Flemings* were not allowed to purchaſe Cloth in *England*, the *Engliſh* Merchants could not buy it from the Clothiers, and the Clothiers were obliged to diſmiſs their Workmen, who began to be tumultuous for Want of Bread. The Cardinal, *Wolſey*, to appeaſe Them ſent for the Merchants, and ordered Them to buy Cloth, as uſual. They anſwered that They could not diſpoſe of it, as uſual; and, notwithſtanding his Menaces, He could not obtain from Them a different Reply (*c*). An Agreement was at laſt, made to continue the Commerce between the States, even during War (*d*).

The foreign Artificers were, in general, greatly ſuperior to the *Engliſh*, in Point of Dexterity, Induſtry, and Frugality. Hence, aroſe that violent Animoſity which the Latter, on ſeveral Occaſions, expreſſed againſt any of the Former who were ſettled in *England*. They complained that their Cuſtomers had deſerted to foreign Tradeſmen; and in the Year, one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Seventeen, being moved by the ſeditious Sermons of Doctor *Bele*, a noted Preacher, and the Intrigues of *John Lincoln*, a Broker, they raiſed an Inſurrection. The Apprentices, and Others of the poorer Sort, in *London*, began by breaking open the Priſons, where ſome Perſons were confined for inſulting Foreigners. They, next proceeded to the Houſe of one *Meutas*, a *Frenchman*, whom they held in great Deteſtation, and in whoſe Houſe They committed the moſt violent Outrages, plundering his Goods, and killing ſeveral of his Servants. Neither the Lord-Mayor,

(*c*) Hall, folio 174.
(*d*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 4. 8vo. p. 274.

Mayor, nor Sir *Thomas More*, the late Sheriff, and highly reverenced by the Citizens, were able to appeaſe Them. Even *Wolſey* was threatened with Inſult, and He thought it neceſſary to fortify his Houſe, and put Himſelf upon his Guard. At length, wearied by exceſſes, They diſperſed, when the Earls of *Shrewſbury*, and *Surry*, ſeized on ſeveral. A Proclamation was iſſued that Women ſhould not meet together to babble, and talk, and that all Men ſhould keep ther Wives within their Houſes. On the following Day, the Duke of *Norfolk*, at the Head of thirteen hundred armed Men, entered the City, and made Inquiries concerning the Tumult. *Bele*, *Lincoln*, and many Others were committed to the Tower, and condemned for Treaſon. *Lincoln*, and thirteen Accomplices were executed. The Reſt, to the Number of four Hundred, were brought before the King, with Ropes about their Necks, and falling upon their Knees, implored his Mercy. On this Occaſion, *Henry* knew how to pardon, and diſmiſſed Them without farther Puniſhment (*e*).

So numerous were the foreign Artificers within the City, that the *Flemings* alone (who, when *Henry* became jealous of their Attachment to Queen *Catharine*, were, by an Order of Council, compelled to leave it,) amounted to at leaſt fifteen Thouſand. They took no *Engliſh* Apprentices, or Servants; They underſold by debaſing Wares; did not pay their Proportion of Taxes; affected to live in Communities, and to hold Meeting for ſupporting their Intereſt againſt the Natives. When They were grown rich by theſe, and ſimilar Arts, They returned to their own Country, with their Wealth,

(*e*) Stowe, p. 505.—Holingſhed, p. 840.—Hall, Folio 59, 60, 61, 62, 63.—Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 4. 8vo. p. 274, 275.—Rapin's Hiſtory of England, V. 6. 8vo. p. 138.

Wealth, leaving their Nephews, or Servants, in *England*, in Poſſeſſion of their Trades (*f*). The King acknowledges, in an Edict of the Star-Chamber, printed amongſt the Statutes, that the Foreigners had reduced the Natives to Want; and obliged Them, from Idleneſs, to have Recourſe to Theft, Murder, and other Enormities (*g*). He alſo, aſſerts that the vaſt Multitude of Foreigners had raiſed the Price of Grain, and Bread (*h*). To prevent an Increaſe of the Evil, all Foreigners were prohibited from having above two Foreigners in their Houſe, either Journeymen, or Apprentices. A like Jealouſy aroſe, againſt the foreign Merchants: To appeaſe it, a Law was enacted obliging all Denizens to pay the Duties impoſed upon Aliens (*i*). In the Opinion of a great Hiſtorian, the Parliament had done better to have encouraged foreign Merchants, and Artizans to come over in greater Numbers, to *England*; which might have excited the Emulation of the Natives, and have improved their Skill (*k*).

The Intereſts of Commerce muſt have been ſeverely affected by the Sloth and Wickedneſs of the Multitude, together with the Numbers of Felons, and Debtors in Confinement, the Former of whom were exterminated from a Society to which, by wiſer Regulations, They might have been rendered uſeful. In an Act of Parliament, the Priſoners within the Gaols of the Kingdom, for Debts, and Crimes, are obſerved to exceed ſixty thouſand Perſons (*l*). It is ſcarcely poſſible to credit ſo ſingular an Aſſertion. We are alſo informed that ſeventy-two thouſand Criminals were

(*f*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 354.
(*g*) 21 Hen. VIII.
(*h*) Ibid.
(*i*) 22 Hen. VIII. C. 8.
(*k*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 4. 8vo. p. 275.
(*l*) 3 Hen. VII. C. 15.

were executed during the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, for Theft, and Robbery (*m*), which would amount nearly to two thouſand in the Year. At the latter End of the Reign of *Elizabeth*, four hundred were not executed in the Year. At Preſent, ſcarcely Sixty are yearly executed throughout all *England*, for theſe Crimes (*n*). If the Facts be juſt, a conſiderable Improvement hath been wrought, during the two laſt Centuries in the Morals, as well as Commerce, of the Nation (*o*).

That our Trade to the *Levant* (already ſlightly, mentioned,) on *Engliſh* Bottoms, were conſiderable during the Reign of *Henry*, the Eighth, appears from the following Paſſage (*p*) : "In the Years, one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Eleven ; one Thouſand, five Hundred and Twelve ; and until the Year, one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Thirty-four, ſeveral tall Ships of *London*, with certain other Ships of *Southampton*, and *Briſtol*, had an ordinary, and uſual Trade to *Sicily*, *Canadia*, *Chio*, and ſometimes to *Cyprus* ; as, alſo to *Tripoli*, and *Barutti*, in *Syria*. The Commodities which They carried thither were fine Kerſies of divers Colours, coarſe Kerſies, white Weſtern Dozen, Cottons, certain Cloths called Statutes, and others called Cardinal Whites, which were well ſold in Sicily, &c. The Commodities which They returned back were Silks, Camlets, Rhubarb, Malmeſies, Muſcadels, and other Wines, ſweet Oils, Cotton-Wool, *Turkey* Carpets, Galls, Pepper, Cinnamon, and ſome other Spices. Beſides the natural Inhabitants of the aforeſaid Places, They had even in thoſe Days, Traffick with

(*m*) Harriſon.
(*n*) Ibid.
(*o*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 4. 8vo. p. 276.
(*p*) Hackluyt, Part 2. p. 96.

Jews, *Turks*, and other Foreigners. Neither did our Merchants only employ their own *Engliſh* Shipping, but ſundry Strangers alſo; as *Candiots*, *Ragueſeans*, *Sicilians*, *Genoeſes*, *Venetian Galeaſſes*, *Spaniſh* and *Portugal* Ships; all which Particulars the Author diligently peruſed, and copied out of Leger-Books of the right worſhipful, Sir *William Locke*, Mercer of *London*, Sir *William Bowyer*, Alderman of *London*, Mr. *John Greſham*, and Others."

In the Year, one Thouſand, five Hundred and Nineteen, *Hernando Cortez* diſcovered *Mexico*, and prepared to attempt the Conqueſt of it; an Event not foreign to our Subject, as leading to the Importation of thoſe Quantities of Gold, and Silver which contributed to the Extenſion, and Proſperity of Commerce, through all the trading Ports of *Europe*.

We ſhall, hereafter, have Occaſion to relate the Voyages of two Illuſtrious Adventurers (*q*), round the World. The firſt Enterprize of this Nature was undertaken by a Foreigner; and, as the Circumſtances which attended it, may throw ſome Light upon a future Part of our Work, the candid Reader will admit the neceſſity of introducing them.

In the Year, one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Nineteen, *Ferdinand de Magalhaens*, or *Magellan*, by Nation, a *Portugueſe*, by Deſcent, a Gentleman, and by Profeſſion, a Soldier, and Seaman, having ſerved his Prince faithfully, both in *Africa*, and *India*, and being ill rewarded, renounced his Country, (diſnaturalizing Himſelf, as the Cuſtom, then, was,) and offered his Service to the Emperor, *Charles* the Fifth, at that Period, King of *Spain* (*r*). *Magellan* had long before

(*q*) Drake and Cavendiſh.

(*r*) See the Introduction to the Collection of Voyages, in ſix Vol. Fol. *(Purchas)*.---Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, Folio, V. 1. p. 96. &c.

fore conceived an Opinion that another Courſe might be found to *India*, and particularly, to the *Molucco Iſlands*, beſides the common Track by the *Cape* of *Good Hope*, followed by the *Portugueſe*. This He propoſed to the Emperor, with ſuch Aſſurances of performing what He promiſed, that He was appointed to the Command of five Ships, the *San Victorio*, *Luys de Mendoza*, Captain; the *St. Antonia*, *Juan de Carthagena*, Captain; the *St. Jago*, *Juan Serran*; and the *Conceptione*, *Gaſpar de Quexada*; Captains. With this Squadron, on Board of which, were two hundred, and fifty Men, He ſailed from *St. Lucar de Barrameda*, on the twentieth of September, in the ſame Year. On his arrival at the River *Rio de Janeiro*, on the Coaſt of *Brazil*, and near twenty-three Degrees *South* Latitude, ſome Diſcontents aroſe amongſt the Crew, which, owing to the Prudence of *Magellan*, ſo far ſubſided, that He was enabled to proceed to the Bay of *St. Julian*, in forty nine Degrees of *South* Latitude. During his Winter Reſidence at this Place, a Conſpiracy broke out againſt Him, and was fomented by three of the Captains, who had perſuaded the greater Part of the Crew, to deprive Him of his Life. On the Diſcovery of their Intentions, He endeavoured by lenient Methods to effect a general Reconciliation; but perceiving that all Overtures of this Nature were ſcornfully rejected by the Ring-Leaders, He ordered two of the Captains, and *Luys de Mendoza* the Treaſurer, to be executed, and ſet a third Commander *(Juan de Carthagena)* together with a Prieſt, his Confederate in Guilt, aſhore amongſt the Savages. By this ſalutary Severity, the Reſt were ſo intimidated that they ſubmitted to his Mercy, and were immediately reſtored to Favour. Matters being thus amicably adjuſted, He erected a Croſs to ſignify that He had taken Poſſeſſion of the

Iſland, and then, proceeded on his Voyage. On the twenty-firſt of October, in the Year, one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Twenty, having been out more than a Twelvemonth, He diſcovered the *Cape*, on the Feſtival of Saint *Urſula*, and the eleven Thouſand Virgins and therefore, called it *Cabo de las Virgines*, or the *Cape of the Virgins*. There, He turned into the Streight which was the Object of his Search, naming it the Streight of *Magellan*, an Appellation which it ſtill retains. It lies in Fifty-two Degrees of *South* Latitude, is more than a hundred Leagues in Length; in ſome Parts, a League broad; in many leſs; and in others, more; but, in all, narrow, and incloſed on both Sides with high Land, the Eminences of which are covered with Snow, and the Sides either barren, or filled with Woods. Having ſailed about fifty Leagues along this Streight, *Magellan* diſcovered another Branch of it, and directed one of his Captains to ſurvey it. He had no ſooner parted from the Fleet, than the Seamen roſe, and confining Him to his Cabin, ſteered their Courſe for *Spain*, to which Kingdom They returned after a Paſſage of eight Months.

Magellan, having waited for Them, in vain, beyond the appointed Time, paſſed through the Streight, where He loſt one Ship, the Crew of which were fortunately ſaved. The laſt Land of the Streight, He called *Cabo Deſeodo*, or the deſired *Cape*, becauſe it was the End of his deſired Paſſage to the *South-Sea*, the Entrance into which He named *Mare Pacificum*. The Cold being rather intenſe, He judged it neceſſary to approach cloſer to the *Equinoctial*, and accordingly, on the twenty-eighth of November, in the Year, one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Twenty, He ſteered *Weſt*, *North-Weſt*. In this Manner, He proceeded, during three Months, and twenty Days, without Sight of

of Land, and was, at length, with all the Mariners, reduced to a ſhort Allowance of old Leather, (all their natural Proviſions being expended,) and corrupted Water. In this diſtreſsful Situation, thirty of the Men became ſo enfeebled as to be rendered unfit for ſervice, and nineteen periſhed under their Sufferings. Having ſailed fifteen hundred Leagues, *Magellan* obſerved a ſmall Iſland, in eighty-eight Degrees of *South* Latitude; Two hundred Leagues farther He diſcovered another Iſland; but as Both of Theſe were, in all Reſpects, too inconſiderable to attract his Notice, He proceeded on his Courſe, until, in about twelve Degrees of *North* Latitude, He arrived at thoſe Iſlands which He called *De Los Ladrones*, or of *Thieves*; becauſe the Natives hovered about the Ships, in Boats, and took every Opportunity of coming ſecretly on Board, to pilfer. Perceiving that his Stay at this Place was of no Advantage, He ſailed again, and diſcovering a great Number of Iſlands together, named that Sea *Archipelago de St. Lazero*. Theſe Iſlands are now called the *Philippines*. On the twenty-eighth of March, He anchored near the Iſland of *Buthuan*, and met with a friendly Reception from the Natives, whoſe Sovereign preſented him with ſome Gold, which had been ſifted out of the Earth of the Mines, and was found in Pieces as large as Nuts, and, frequently of the Size of Eggs. He next proceeded to the Iſle of *Meſſana*, at a ſmall Diſtance from the Others; and thence, to the Iſland of *Cebu*. As only the Diſcoveries made by *Magellan* are material to our Subject, We omit the Particulars of his Reception, and his Succeſs in converting all the Inhabitants to Chriſtianity.

The Fleet next ſtood over to the Iſland of *Matan*, where moſt of the Crew diſembarked, and were ſoon at Variance with the Natives, who collecting a con-

ſiderable Force, attacked their Invaders, and, with poiſoned Arrows, ſlew *Magellan*, and eight of his Aſſociates. The Reſt fled to their Ships, and immediately, ſet Sail, under the Command of *Odoardo Barbaſa*, for the Iſland of *Bohol*, where, as their Number was too inconſiderable to navigate the whole Fleet, They burned *La Conceptione*, after taking out her Cannon, and whatſoever could be of the leaſt Service. Reduced to two Ships, They now proceeded to the *Southward*, in Search of the *Molucco* Iſlands, inſtead of which, They arrived at the great Iſland of *Borneo*, where, meeting with an hoſpitable Reception, They made ſome Stay. Yet, previous to their Departure, They were aſſaulted, on the ninth of July, by the Inhabitants, on Board a Hundred Prows, or Junks, four of which They took, and in One, the Son of the King of *Lozon*. Departing from thence, They arrived under the Conduct of *Indian* Pilots, at the *Moluccos*, on the eighth of November, in the Year, one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Twenty one and in the twenty-ſeventh Month of their Departure from *Spain*. They anchored in the Port of *Tidore*, one of the chief of thoſe Iſlands, and were liberally entertained by the King, who concluded a Peace, and confirmed by Oath his Determination to live in perpetual Amity with the Crown of *Spain*. Here, They traded for Cloves, exchanging on their own Terms, the Commodities which They brought. On the Eve of their Departure, a Ship was diſcovered to be leaky, and unfit for ſo long a Voyage. She was, therefore, left at the Iſland of *Mare*, whilſt the other Two, proceeded, on the Day following, for *Spain*.

Steering to the *South Weſt*, They arrived at the Iſland *Malva*, near that of *Timor*, in eleven Degrees of *South* Latitude, where they ſtayed, during ſome Time,

Time, in Order to ſtop the Leaks in the *Victoria*, commanded by *Juan Sebaſtiano Cano*, and carrying forty-ſix *Spaniards*, and thirteen *Indians*. On the twenty-fifth of January, in the Year, one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Twenty-two, They quitted this Place, and the Day following, touched at *Timor*, from whence They did not depart until the eleventh of February, when they proceeded to the *Southward*, reſolving to leave all *India*, and the Iſlands to the *Northward*, leſt They ſhould meet the *Portugueſe*, who were formidable in thoſe Parts, and might intercept their Paſſage. They ran, therefore, into forty Degrees of *South* Latitude, before They doubled the Cape of *Good-Hope*, and were beating, during ſeven Weeks, againſt contrary Winds. In this Situation, their Proviſions failed, and ſeveral of the Crew ſickened. By Some, it was propoſed to return to *Mozambique*; but the Majority would not conſent to it. Having ſuffered ſevere Diſtreſſes, during two Months, and loſt twenty-one of their Aſſociates, They were forced to put into the Iſland of *Saint James*, being One of the *Cabo Verde*, belonging to the King of *Portugal*, where, with great Difficulty, They obtained a ſmall Supply of Proviſions. The *Portugueſe* informed Them that a Quantity of Rice would be at their Service, whenſoever They might chuſe to fetch it. Deluded by this Artifice, Thirteen of the Crew, went aſhore, and were detained. The Reſt, alarmed at theſe Proceedings, and dreading the Conſequences of a longer Stay, put off to Sea, and, on the Seventh of September, arrived ſafely at Saint *Lucar*, below the City of *Seuil*, where, after having fired all their Guns for Joy, They repaired to the great Church, barefooted, and in their Shirts, to return Thanks to GOD for their Succeſſes, and their Deliverances.

On

On the Return of *Juan Sebaſtiano Cano*, in the *Victoria*, the Ship which performed this wonderful Voyage, He was highly honoured, and rewarded by the Emperor. This was the firſt Expedition round the World, and alone rendered practicable by the Diſcovery of the Streight of *Magellan*. The other *Spaniſh* Ship left to be refitted at the *Molucco* Iſlands, attempted to return by her former Courſe, to *Panama*. During four Months, She was detained at Sea, by *Eaſterly* Winds. Moſt of the Crew died; The Reſt, although juſt ſtarved, were fortunately able to ſteer for the *Molucco* Iſlands, where the *Portugueſe* deprived them of their Ship, and detained Them, during two Years in *India*, at the Expiration of which Time, They were ſent to *Spain*.

It may not be improper to obſerve that in the Year, one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Twenty-one, Muſkets were introduced, and uſed, in the Wars of this Reign, during the Land, and Naval Engagements (*s*).

Under the Year, one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Twenty-five, *Holingſhed* obſerves that *Duncan Campbell*, a *Scotch* Pyrate, was taken at Sea, after a ſevere Conflict, by *John Arundel*, Eſquire of *Cornwall*.

In the Year, one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Twenty-ſeven, Mr. *Robert Thorne*, a Merchant of *Briſtol*, addreſſed himſelf by Letter to *Henry*, the Eighth, and, after having expatiated on the great Advantages which the Emperor and the King of *Portugal* drew from their Colonies, took the Liberty to adviſe Him to undertake Diſcoveries to the *North Pole*. The King to whom this Perſon had been recommended as active, vigilant, and ſagacious, directed that two Ships ſhould

(*s*) Memoires du Bellai.---Rapin's Hiſtory of England, V. 6. 8vo. p. 184.

ſhould be immediately manned, and provided with all Neceſſaries for the Expedition. In Theſe, Mr. *Thorne*, and his Aſſociates, ſailed on the twentieth of *May*. When the Ships had proceeded very far *North-Weſtward*, one of them was caſt away, at the Entrance of a dangerous Gulph, near the great Opening between the *North* Parts of *Newfoundland*, and the Country called *Meta Incognita*. The other Ship fortunately eſcaped the Danger, and ſailed towards *Cape Briton*, and the Coaſts of *Arembec*, frequently lying to, whilſt the Mariners diſembarked to inquire concerning the State of the different Iſlands by which they paſſed. In the Beginning of October, in the ſame Year, theſe Adventurers returned Home, without having diſcovered the *North-Weſt* Paſſage, notwithſtanding their Aſſiduity in exerting every Endeavour to ſucceed. Two Letters have been written concerning this Voyage; the One to *Henry*, the Eighth, by *John Rut*, and the Other to Cardinal *Wolſey*, by *Albertus de Prato*. Mr. *Thorne*, the chief Protector of this Enterprize, was afterwards Mayor of *Briſtol*. He died at an advanced Age, and, according to *Weever*, was buried in the *Temple* Church; but, according to *Fuller*, in Saint *Chriſtopher's*, near the *Exchange*, *London* (*t*).

In the Years, one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Thirty; and one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Thirty-two, Mr. *William Hawkins*, of *Plymouth*, made three Voyages to *Braſil*, of which we find the following Account in *Hackluyt* (*u*).

"Mr.

(*t*) Purchas, Part III. p. 809.—Hackluyt's Voyages---V. 1. p. 212.---Hall, folio 158. b.---Herbert's Hiſtory of Henry the Eighth, in Kennet, V. 2. p. 85.---Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 443.---Fuller's Worthies, under Briſtol, p. 36.---Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 356.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, Folio, V. 1. p. 102.

(*u*) Part III. p. 700.

" Mr. *William Hawkins*, of *Plymouth*, a Man for " his Wiſdom, Valour, Experience, and Skill in Sea-" Cauſes, much eſteemed, and beloved by King *Hen-*" *ry*, the Eighth, and being One of the principal Sea-" Captains, in the *Weſt* Parts of *England*, in his " Time, not contented with the Voyages, commonly " then made, only to the known Coaſts of *Europe*, " armed out a tall, and goodly Ship of his own, of the " Burden of two Hundred and fifty Tons, called the " *Paul* of *Plymouth*, wherewith He made three long, " and famous Voyages unto the Coaſt of *Braſil*, a " Thing, in thoſe Days, very rare, eſpecially to our Na-" tion. In the Courſe of theſe Voyages, He touched " at the River of *Seſtos*, upon the Coaſt of *Guinea*, " where He trafficked with the *Negroes*, and took of " them Elephants Teeth, and other Commodities, " which that Place yields; and ſo, arriving on the " Coaſts of *Braſil*, He uſed there ſuch Diſcretion, and " behaved himſelf ſo wiſely with theſe ſavage People, " that He grew into great familiarity, and Friendſhip " with them. Inſomuch, that in his ſecond Voyage, " one of the ſavage Kings of the Country of *Braſil* " was contented to take Ship with him, and to be tranſ-" ported to *England*; to which Mr. *Hawkins* agreed, " leaving behind him in the Country, as a Pledge for " his Safety, and Return again, one *Martin Cockram*, " of *Plymouth*. This *Braſilian* King being arrived, " was brought up to *London*, and preſented to King " *Henry* VIII. In his Cheeks were Holes, made ac-" cording to the ſavage Manner, and therein ſmall " Bones were planted, ſtanding an Inch out from the " Holes, which in his Country, was looked on as a " great Bravery. He had another Hole in his lower " Lips, wherein was ſet a precious Stone, about the " Bigneſs of a Pea. All his Apparel, Behaviour and

" Geſ-

"Geſture were very ſtrange to the Beholders. Having "remained here the Space almoſt of a whole Year, Mr. "*Hawkins*, according to his Promiſe, purpoſed to car- "ry Him again into his Country: But it fell out in the "Way, that by Change of Air, and Alteration of "Diet, He died at Sea. It was feared this would have "coſt the Life of *Martin Cockram*, his Pledge; never- "theleſs the Savages, being fully perſuaded of the ho- "neſt Dealing of our Men with their Prince, reſtored "the Pledge, without any Harm to Him, or any Man "of his Company; and the Ship being freighted, and "furniſhed with Commodities of the Country, return- "to *England*."

From the ſame Author (*x*) We learn that in the Years, one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Thirty-four; and one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Thirty-five, two Merchantmen, the One of an hundred, and ſixty; and the Other of three hundred Tons, ſailed to *Candia*, and *Chio*. In the Accounts of theſe Voyages, the only memorable Circumſtance is, that ſuch an Enterprize was, in that Age, eſteemed long, and dangerous (*y*).

Leſs ſucceſsful, yet undertaken with greater Hopes, was the famous Voyage of Mr. *Hoare*, an opulent Merchant of *London*. Tall, and graceful, in his Perſon, of an inſinuating Addreſs, and endued with a cultivated Underſtanding, He had the Art to perſuade a Multitude of Others to embark with Him on a Voyage of Diſcovery, towards the *North-Weſt* Parts of *America* (*z*). Amongſt his Aſſociates, were Mr. *Tuke*, a Gentleman of *Kent*; Mr. *Tuckfield*; Mr. *Thomas Butts*, the Son of

(*x*) Hackluyt, Part II. p. 98.

(*y*) Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, V. 1. Folio, p. 103.

(*z*) Ibid.---Hackluyt, Part III. p. 129.---Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 356.

of Sir *William Butts*, of *Norfolk*; Mr. *Hardie*; Mr. *Biron*; Mr. *Carter*; Mr. *Wright*; Mr. *Raſtal*, Brother of Serjeant *Raſtal*; Mr. *Ridley*; Mr. *Weekes*, a Gentleman of the *Weſt*, and ſeveral Others, of antient Families, and great Fortunes. All Theſe embarked with Mr. *Hoare*, in the Admiral Ship, called the *Trinity*, of one hundred, and forty Tons.

In another Ship, named the *Minion*, went Mr. *Armigal Wade*, afterwards Clerk of the Council to *Henry* the Eighth, and *Edward* the Sixth; Mr. *Oliver Daubeney*, a Merchant of *London*; Mr. *Fay*, afterwards Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, and twenty Perſons; thirty of whom were of conſiderable Rank, and Property.

On the thirtieth of April, in the Year, one Thouſand, five hundred, and fifty-ſix, They departed from *Graveſend*, and in ſome Days afterwards gained the open Sea, and obſerved no Land during two Months, until they touched at a Part of the *Weſt Indies*, near to *Cape Briton*. From thence, They ſhaped their Courſe *North-Eaſtwards*, until They arrived at the Iſland of *Pengwin*, a rocky, ſtony Country. Here, They went on Shore, and found a prodigious Quantity of white, and grey Birds, as large as Geeſe, which, when ſtead, and dreſſed, were delicious Eating. Black, and white Bears were, likewiſe, in Abundance, ſome of which were killed, and proved tolerable Food.

After their Arrival at *Newfoundland*, They were ſeveral Days at Anchor, without ſeeing any of the Natives: At laſt, ſome Savages, were obſerved to row towards the Ships: A Boat was manned, in Order to purſue them: But They immediately retreated, and, gaining the Shore firſt, fled to an Iſland, in the Bay. The *Engliſh* followed the Savages, who, notwithſtanding,

eſcaped,

eſcaped, leaving behind Them a Fire, at which the Side of a Bear was roaſting on a wooden Spit.

In a ſhort Time, Mr. *Hoare*, and his Aſſociates were in want of Proviſions, and found no Suſtenance, but in the Neſt of an *Oſprey*, which brought thither great Plenty of all Sorts of Fiſh, for the Support of her Young; and in the few raw Herbs, and Roots which They gathered on the Shore. At Length, the Famine became more ſevere; and All were preparing to follow the dreadful Example of ſome Mariners belonging to their own Ship, who, in the Woods, had overpowered their Companions, deſtroyed, and eaten Them. It was, now, agreed that, on the following Day, the Lots ſhould be caſt, that the Perſons to whom they fell might be killed to furniſh Food for the Reſt. Immediately afterwards, a *French* Ship laden with Proviſions, arrived in the ſame Part. Of this, They made Themſelves Maſters, and being, now, ſupplied with Neceſſaries, ſet Sail in it, with an Intention of returning to *England*.

On the Voyage, They had proceeded ſo far to the Northward, as to obſerve (and that, during the Summer Seaſon,) vaſt Iſlands of Ice. Towards the End of October, They arrived at *Saint Ives*, in *Cornwall*; but in ſo wretched a Condition, although they had not been abſent ſeven Months, that Sir *William Butts*, and his Lady, could not have recollected their own Son, but by an extraordinary Wart on his Knee. In ſame Months afterwards, the *Frenchmen*, whom They had plundered, came to *England*, and repairing to Court, complained in violent Terms, of the Outrages to which They had been expoſed. *Henry*, with a becoming Generoſity, gave Orders that They ſhould be indemnified for their Loſs, by the Payment of a conſiderable Sum, out of the Royal Treaſury.

On

On the Authenticity of this Account, the Reader may depend, as Mr. *Hackluyt*, who records it, rode two hundred Miles, in Order to take the Particulars from the Mouth of Mr. *Butts*, the only Survivor of Thoſe who had made the Voyage.

A Naval Writer (*a*) hath juſtly obſerved that the great Motive of *Henry* for interfering, with Reſpect to foreign Affairs, was to preſerve the Independency of the Sovereigns of *Europe*, and make Himſelf the Umpire of their Differences. He adds that it may be neceſſary to dwell a little on the Conſequences which attended his Interpoſition in the Affairs of the Continent, and the high Price that He paid for the Reputation which, on this Occaſion, He acquired. But, let us previouſly remark that the Writers who cenſure Him for having frequently changed his Party, (as is evident from the Hiſtory of his Reign,) are too ſevere in aſcribing his Behaviour to the Inconſtancy of his Temper; ſince (to borrow the Language of a learned Antequarian,) it ought rather to be placed to the Account of his Allies (*b*).

When the Emperor *Maximilian* entered into a League with this Monarch, He promiſed to aſſiſt in Perſon, to recover for Him the Crown of *France*, and to expel the King who wore it. He likewiſe, ſtipulated that He would inveſt *Henry*, and his Heirs male, with the Duchy of *Milan*, to be holden as a Fief of the Empire, and make over to Him the Reverſion of his imperial Territories. Yet *Maximilian* had no ſooner ſucceeded in his Views than *Henry* was deſerted. The Recollection of this Treachery, and Ingratitude, did not prevent the Laſt from entering into a Treaty with *Charles*

(*a*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 358.
(*b*) Sir Robert Cotton's Diſcourſe of Foreign War. London 1690. 8vo. p. 90.

Charles the Fifth, who amuſed Him with the Hopes that when the Conſtable of *Bourbon* ſhould be put into Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *France*, He ſhould do Homage for it to *Henry*. When, afterwards, through his Aſſiſtance, the Situation of their Affairs became proſperous, and the King of *France* was reduced to the greateſt Diſtreſs, *Pace*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, was inſtructed to demand a Renewal of their former Aſſurances, with which They abſolutely refuſed to comply. Thus, it appears that by breaking with ſuch Confederates as Theſe, He doth not juſtly draw an Imputation on his Character (*c*). It ſeems, however, a Reflection on his Diſcernment: He might have known that *Maximilian*, *Charles*, and the Conſtable of *Bourbon*, would never have made ſuch extravagant Conceſſions, had They intended to keep their Promiſes.

The Terms in which He lived, and the Temper of thoſe Princes with whom He formed Alliances, may furniſh ſome Excuſe for his Conduct: and, perhaps, the ſecret Engagements of his Miniſters, by the Means of Penſions, or Promiſes from foreign Powers, might, were They thoroughly detected, ſtill farther exculpate *Henry*, by proving that He was miſled in thoſe Meaſures, which induced Him to take ſuch Steps for the Maintenance of his Intereſt, and Grandeur abroad, as deeply impoveriſhed his Subjects at Home (*d*).

The immenſe Treaſures which devolved to Him, on the Death of *Henry* the Seventh, were rapidly conſumed in chargeable Expeditions; in the Tranſportation of vaſt Armies to the Continent; in the Support of Them, whether in the Field, or in Garriſons; and in enormous Subſidies, granted to his Allies. During all this Period, He was employed in waging War for Others,

(*c*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 359.
(*d*) Ibid.

Others, and ſcarcely made a ſingle Conqueſt worth preſerving for Himſelf. When this amazing Heap of Money was expended, He demanded, and received ſuch Aſſiſtance from his Parliament, as none of his Predeceſſors had obtained. To Theſe were added that prodigious Grant of the Eſtates of all the religious Houſes in the Realm (*e*).

On this Occaſion, *Henry* ſuppreſſed, at different Times, ſix hundred, and forty-five Monaſteries. Of which twenty-eight were under the Superintendence of Abbots that enjoyed a Seat in Parliament. Ninety Colleges in different Counties, were demoliſhed; and with Theſe, two thouſand, three hundred, and ſeventy-four Chantries, and free Chapels; and a hundred, and ten Hoſpitals. The whole Revenue of theſe Eſtabliſhments amounted to one hundred, and ſixty-one thouſand, and five hundred Pounds (*f*). It muſt be remarked that all the Lands, Poſſeſſions, and Revenues of *England* had, not long before this Period, been rated at four Millions a Year, ſo that the Revenues of the Monks, even comprehending the leſſer Monaſteries, did not exceed the twentieth Part of the national Income: a Sum vaſtly inferior to what is commonly apprehended. The Land belonging to the Convents were uſually let at a very low Rent; and the Farmers who regarded themſelves as a Species of Proprietors, were careful always to renew their Leaſes before they expired (*g*).

A celebrated Hiſtorian (*h*), hath pointed out to us a curious Paſſage (*i*) relating to the Suppreſſion of Monaſteries. It deſerves to be tranſcribed: not only becauſe the

(*e*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 359.
(*f*) Herbert.---Camden.---Speed.
(*g*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 4, 8vo. p. 182.
(*h*) Ibid. Note I. p. 457.
(*i*) Inſt. 4. Chap. 1. p. 44.

the ſagacious Reader will draw Concluſions from it material to our Subject; but, becauſe it diſcovers to us what Ideas were formed concerning the *Engliſh* Government, and even during the Time of Sir *Edward Coke*, when He wrote his Inſtitutes. It clearly appears that the People had then little Notion of being jealous of their Liberties, were deſirous of making the Crown quite independent, and wiſhed only to remove from Themſelves, as much as poſſible, the Burthens of Government. A large ſtanding Army, and a fixed Revenue, would, on theſe Conditions, have been regarded as great Bleſſings; and it was owing entirely to the Prodigality of *Henry*, and to his little Suſpicion that the Power of the Crown could ever fail, that the *Engliſh* retained their Liberty. The Title of the Chapter in *Coke* is, *Advice concerning new, and plauſible Projects, and Offers in Parliament*. He obſerves that "When any plauſible Pro-"ject is made in Parliament, to draw the Lords and "Commons to aſſent to any Act, (eſpecially in Mat-"ters of Weight, and Importance,) if both Houſes do "give upon the Matter projected, and promiſed their "Conſent, it ſhall be moſt neceſſary, They being "truſted for the Commonwealth, to have the Matter "projected, and promiſed (which moved the Houſes "to conſent) to be eſtabliſhed, in the ſame Act, leſt "the Benefit of the Act be taken, and the Matter pro-"jected, and promiſed never performed, and ſo the "Houſes of Parliament perform not the Truſt repoſed "in Them, as it fell out (taking one Example for ma-"ny) in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth: On the "King's Behalf, the Members of both Houſes were "informed in Parliament that no King, or Kingdom "was ſafe, but where the King had three Abilities; "1. To live of his-own, and able to defend his King-"dom upon any ſudden Invaſion, or Inſurrection. 2.

" To aid his Confederates, otherwiſe They would " never aſſiſt Him. 3. To reward his well deſerving " Servants. Now, the Project was that if the Parlia- " ment would give unto Him, all the Abbies, Prio- " ries, Friaries, Nunneries, and other Monaſteries, " that for ever, in Time then to come, He would " take Order that the ſame, ſhould not be converted " to private Uſes; but firſt, that his Exchequer for " the Purpoſes aforeſaid ſhould be enriched; ſecondly, " the Kingdom ſtrengthened by a continual Mainte- " nance of forty thouſand well-trained Soldiers, with " ſkilful Captains, and Commanders; thirdly, for " the Benefit, and Eaſe of the Subject, who, never " afterwards, (as was projected,) in any Time to " come, ſhould be charged with Subſidies, Fifteenths, " Loans for other common Aids; fourthly, leſt the " Honour of the Realm ſhould receive any Diminu- " tion of Honour, by the Diſſolution of the ſaid Mo- " naſteries, there being twenty-nine Lords of Parlia- " ment of the Abbots, and Priors, (that held of the " King, per *Baroniam*, wherefore more in the next " Leaf,) that the King would create a Number of No- " bles, which We omit. The ſaid Monaſteries were " given to the King, by Authority from divers Acts " of Parliament, but no Proviſion was therein made " for the ſaid Project, or any Part thereof."

We have already obſerved how ſpeedily the Treaſures amaſſed by *Henry*, the Seventh, were diſſipated by his Succeſſor, whoſe Habits of Expence remained, although every Method of defraying them was nearly waſted, and his Revenues had proved unequal, not alone to his military Enterprizes, but even to the ordinary Charges of his Government. In the fourteenth Year of his Reign, He cauſed a general Survey to be made of the Kingdom; the Numbers of Men; their

Years;

Years; Profeſſion; Stock; and Revenue; (*k*). At peruſing the Report, He felt, and expreſſed his Joy on the Diſcovery of the Affluence of the Nation, and immediately iſſued Privy-Seals to the moſt Wealthy, demanding Loans of particular Sums. The uſual Mode of borrowing was at the Rate of ten *per Cent.* out of the perſonal Property of ſuch of his Subjects as were worth from twenty, to three hundred Pounds; and twenty Marks from Thoſe whoſe pecuniary poſſeſſions exceeded three thouſand Pounds. Of this Act of Power, although equally irregular, and tyrannical, the Kings of *England* had formerly been guilty, and it was now, unhappily, become familiar to the People. Yet, on the preſent Occaſion, *Henry* carried his Authority much farther. He publiſhed an Edict for a general Tax upon his Subjects which He ſtill called a Loan; and He levied five Shillings in the Pound upon the Clergy, and two Shillings upon the Laity. It is pertinently remarked that this pretended Loan, as being more regular, was really more dangerous to the Liberties of the People, and a Precedent for the Impoſition of Taxes by the King, without the Conſent of Parliament. The latter meanly interpoſed, in four Years afterwards, and releaſed *Henry* from the Obligation of paying any Part of theſe Debts. It will excite the Indignation of the Reader, when He is told that in collecting this Loan, All were obliged to ſwear to the Value of their Eſtates, and had no Alternative but to embrace Poverty, or commit Perjury (*l*).

The Progreſs of Commerce was equally retarded, and injured by thoſe Invaſions of national Privileges to which *Henry* was perpetually addicted. On the fifteenth

(*k*) Herbert.---Stowe, p. 514.

(*l*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 4. 8vo. p. 46.---Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 360.

of April, in the year one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Fifty-three, He ſummoned a Parliament, and a Convocation, both too ſervilely obſequious to murmur at the Incroachments on their Rights. The only Uncertainty was whether they would preſume to ſet bounds to their Liberality. *Wolſey*, the ſubmiſſive Miniſter to whom the Management of this Buſineſs was intruſted, applied firſt to the Convocation, in Hopes that their Example would induce the Parliament to advance a large Supply. The Cardinal demanded a Moiety of their eccleſiaſtical Revenues to be levied in five Years, or two Shillings in the Pound, during that Period. At firſt, they flatly refuſed to comply with his Requeſt; but when He grew exaſperated, and cenſured their Contumacy in the bittereſt Terms, their Reſolution failed, and they were all Obedience. *Wolſey*, attended by ſeveral of the Nobility, and Prelates, repaired afterwards to the Houſe of Commons, and in a tedious and laboured Oration, expatiated on the public Neceſſities, the Danger of an Invaſion from *Scotland*; the Affronts given by the *French*, and the League which *Henry* had formed with the Pope and the Emperor: He concluded by demanding a Grant of eight hundred thouſand Pounds, divided into four yearly Payments; a Sum computed from the late Survey, or Valuation, to be equal to four Shillings in the Pound of one Year's Revenue; or one Shilling in the Pound, yearly, according to the Diviſion propoſed. Yet we may ſuſpect this Valuation, as fixing the Rents conſiderably too high, unleſs the Sum comprehended the Revenues of all Kinds, whether of Induſtry, Land, or Money. The Commons, even in this Reign, had not been accuſtomed to ſo exorbitant a Grant, neither would they accede to it; although the Requeſt of the Cardinal was enforced by the Speaker, Sir *Thomas More*, and

and ſeveral Members of the Court Party (*m*): They only voted two Shillings in the Pound on all who enjoyed twenty Pounds a Year, and upwards; one Shilling on all who poſſeſſed between twenty Pounds, and forty Shillings a Year; and on the other Subjects above ſixteen Years of Age, a Groat a Head. This laſt Sum was divided into two yearly Payments; the former into four, and was not therefore, at the utmoſt, above Sixpence in the Pound. The Grant of the Commons was but the Moiety of the Sum demanded: Wherefore *Wolſey*, unable to brook this Diſappointment, returned to the Houſe, and propoſed to debate the Queſtion with Thoſe who were of Opinion that the King's Requeſt ſhould not be yielded. He was anſwered, that They could not, in Compliance to Him, break through the Rules of the Houſe, which forbad any Debates, except amongſt the Members. Yet the Commons, in ſome Meaſure, augmented their former Grant, and voted an Impoſition of three Shillings in the Pound, on all poſſeſſed of fifty Pounds a Year, and upwards. It is judiciouſly obſerved that the Proceedings of this Houſe of Commons evidently diſcover the Humour of the Times: They were extremely tenacious of their Money, and refuſed a Demand from the Crown which was far from being unreaſonable; but they allowed an Incroachment on national Privileges to paſs uncenſured, although its direct Tendency was to ſubvert intirely the Liberties of the People. The King was ſo diſſatisfied with this ſaving Diſpoſition of the Commons, that as He had not called a Parliament during ſeven Years before, He allowed ſeven more to elapſe before He ſummoned another. And, on Pretence of Neceſſity, He

(*m*) Herbert.—Stowe. p. 518.—Parliamentary Hiſtory.—Strype V. 1. p. 49, 50.—Hume's Hiſtory of England 8vo. V. 4. p. 47.

levied in one Year from all who were worth forty Pounds, what the Parliament had granted Him, payable in four Years (*n*). Theſe Irregularities were commonly aſcribed to *Wolſey*, who truſting to the Protection afforded Him by his eccleſiaſtical Character, was leſs ſcrupulous in his Incroachments on the civil Rights of the Nation.

How inſecure the Property of Subjects muſt have been under ſo deſpotic a Tyrant as *Henry*, and ſo overbearing a Miniſter as *Wolſey*, is evident from the two following Circumſtances, which are both connected with the Events above related.

When the King was informed that the Commons refuſed to grant the deſired Supply, He ſent in a great Rage, for *Edward Montague*, a Member of the Houſe, and of conſiderable Parliamentary Intereſt. In the firſt Moments of his Introduction, *Henry* thus roughly accoſted Him, *Ho! Man! Will they not ſuffer my Bill to paſs?* Then laying his Hand on the Head of *Montague*, who was on his Knees before Him, He added: *Get my Bill paſſed by To-morrow, or elſe To-morrow this Head of your's ſhall be off.* This imperious Behaviour of *Henry* proved ſucceſsful; and, on the Day following, the Bill was paſſed (*o*).

When the Citizens of *London* heſitated, for ſome Time, to comply with the Exaction, by a general Load, in the Year one Thouſand five Hundred and Twenty-five, the Cardinal endeavoured to terrify Them into a Conceſſion, by plainly telling Them, that *it were better that ſome ſhould ſuffer Indigence, than that the King, at this Time, ſhould lack; and therefore, beware, and refuſe not; nor ruffle not in this Caſe, for it may fortune to*

(*n*) Speed.---Hall.---Herbert.
(*o*) Collins's Britiſh Peerage.---Grove's Life of Wolſey.

to coſt ſome People their Heads. Such was the Style employed by the King, and his Miniſters (*p*).

In the ſeventeenth Year of his Reign, the King exacted Money by another great Loan; on which Occaſion, an Oath of Secrecy was adminiſtered to the Commiſſioners, who were likewiſe, impowered to tender it to ſuch as came before Them: Although this was ſtiled an amicable Grant, yet the Commiſſioners, in Order to force Perſons to contribute expeditiouſly, and profuſely, threatened Them, in Caſe of Failure, with Impriſonment, and a Confiſcation of their Eſtates. By a ſimilar Levy of a *Benevolence*, *Henry*, in the Year one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Forty-four, extorted from his Subjects, nearly ſeventy thouſand Pounds. *Read*, an Alderman of *London*, and advanced in Years, having either refuſed to contribute his Share, or diſappointed the Expectation of the Commiſſioners, was inrolled as a Foot-Soldier, to ſerve in the Wars againſt *Scotland*, and was there taken Priſoner (*q*). *Roach*, who had been equally refractory, was committed to Goal, and obliged, at laſt, to purchaſe his Liberty with an enormous Sum (*r*). The great Hiſtorian (*s*), whoſe Labours have ſo much aſſiſted me, obſerves that theſe Powers of the Prerogative, (which, at that Time, paſſed unqueſtioned) the compelling any Man to ſerve in any Office, and the impriſoning any Man, during Pleaſure, not to mention the Practice of extorting Loans, rendered the Sovereign, in a Manner, abſolute Maſter of the Perſon, and Property of every Individual.

In

(*p*) Hall Folio 38.—Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 4. 8vo. p. 452. Note B.

(*q*) Herbert.—Stowe p. 588.—Baker p. 292.

(*r*) Goodwin's Annals.—Stowe p. 588.

(*s*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 4. 8vo. p. 244.

In the thirty-ſixth Year of his Reign, *Henry* demanded, and received another Loan of eight Pence in the Pound, from ſuch Perſons as were worth from forty Shillings, to twenty Pounds; and of one Shilling in the Pound from ſuch as were worth more. From theſe Inſtances, it appears how ſoon He became neceſſitous after having been poſſeſſed of the immenſe Treaſures of his Predeceſſor. With equal Rapidity, was He again reduced to the Want of Supplies, after that prodigious Acceſſion to the Royal Revenue, made by the Confiſcation of Abbey-Lands.

By Indentures of the firſt, and twenty-third Years of the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, a Pound-Weight of Gold of the old Standard, was to be coined into twenty-ſeven Pounds by Tale; namely, into twenty-four Sovereigns, at twenty-two Shillings and Six-pence a Piece; or forty-eight Rials at eleven Shillings and three Pence, a Piece; or ſeventy-two Angels at ſeven Shilling, and Sixpence a Piece; or eighty-one George Nobles, at ſix Shillings, and eight Pence, a Piece; or one hundred, and forty-four Half-Angels, at three Shillings, and nine Pence, a Piece; or one hundred, and ſixty-two forty-penny Pieces, at three Shillings, and four Pence, a Piece. A Pound-Weight of Gold of the Fineneſs of twenty two Carats only, was to be coined into one hundred Crowns, and a Half of the double Roſe; or two hundred and one Half Crowns, making by Tale, twenty-five Pounds, two Shillings, and Sixpence; and a Pound-Weight of Silver of the old Sterling was coined into one hundred, and thirty-five Groats, or two hundred, and ſeventy Half Groats; or five hundred, and forty Sterlings, (or Pence) or one thouſand, and eighty Half-Pence; or two thouſand, one hundred, and ſixty Farthings; ſo that every Pound-Weight of Sterling-Silver was coined

into

into forty-two Shillings, by Tale. In the thirty-fourth year of this Reign, a Pound-Weight of Gold of twenty-three Carats, fine, and one Carat, Alloy, was coined into twenty-eight Pounds, and ſixteen Shillings, by Tale, by which Indenture, there were coined Sovereigns, at twenty Shillings, a Piece; Half Sovereigns, at ten Shillings; Angels, at eight Shillings, and Quarter-Angels, at two Shillings a Piece. A Pound-Weight of Silver of ten Ounces, fine, and two Ounces Alloy, was coined into forty-eight Shillings by Tale; namely, into Teſtoons, (which were twelve Pence, a Piece); Groats, Half-Groats, Pence, Half-pence, and Farthings. In the thirty-ſixth Year of the Reign of *Henry*, the Eighth, a Pound-Weight of Gold, of twenty-two Carats, fine, and two Carats Alloy, was coined into thirty Pounds, by Tale; namely, into thirty Sovereigns, at twenty Shillings, a Piece; or ſixty Half-Sovereigns, at ten Shillings, a Piece; or one hundred and twenty Crowns, at five Shillings a Piece; or two hundred, and forty Half-Crowns. The King had two Carats of fine Gold for Coinage, which yielded him fifty Shillings. Silver was coined, by the ſame Indenture, of ſix Ounces, fine, and ſix Ounces, Alloy, into forty-eight Shillings, by Tale. It was coined into Teſtoons, Groats, Half-Groats, Pence, Half-Pence, and Farthings. In the thirty-ſeventh Year of his Reign, a Pound-Weight of Gold, of twenty Carats, fine, and four Carats Alloy, was coined into thirty Pounds, by Tale, as in the laſt; and the King had four Carats, which yielded Him five Pounds, and two Shillings. A Pound-Weight of Silver of four Ounces, fine, and eight Ounces Alloy, was coined into forty-eight Shillings, by Tale, which raiſed the Pound-Weight of fine Gold to thirty-ſix Pounds; and the Pound-Weight of fine Silver, to ſeven Pounds, and four Shillings.

The

The Gold Coins of *Henry* the Eighth, are Sovereigns, Rials, Half-Sovereigns, Angels, George-Nobles, Half, and Quarter-Angels, Forty-Penny Pieces, Crowns, and Half-Crowns. The Silver Coins are Teſtoons, Groats, Half-Groats, Sterlings, Half-Pence, and Farthings; to which may be added Crown Pieces of Silver, which were firſt coined by this King (*t*).

Preſſed by his Neceſſities, *Henry* recurred to all Expedients which could procure Supplies. Amongſt theſe, the moſt detrimental was the practiſing on the Coin. Yet in the Opinion of a naval Writer (*u*), it ſeems doubtful whether it was with a view of relieving his Wants, that, in the firſt Year of his Reign, He made the Alteration. It hath already been obſerved that He coined forty-five Shillings, out of a Pound of Silver; by which he raiſed that Metal to three Shillings, and nine Pence, an Ounce. But as the Standard remained the ſame, it is probable that his Motives for the Alteration were not, at that Period, diſgraceful. Towards the Concluſion of his Reign, the Orders iſſued concerning the Coinage, were equally reproachful to Himſelf, and detrimental to his People.

The Reader muſt have perceived that the firſt impolitic Meaſure of this Kind, purſued by *Henry*, occurred in the thirty-fourth Year of his Reign, when He not only divided the Pound into forty-eight Shillings, by which, if the Coin had remained in its former Purity, the Silver would have been raiſed to four

(*t*) Madox's Hiſtory of the Exchequer.—St. 14, 15. Hen. VIII. Chap. 12.—Vaughan of Coinage, p. 112.—Coke's Inſtitutes, L. 4. C. 8.—Evelyn. Numiſm. p. 12.—Camden's Remains.—Stowe's Chronicle, p. 587.—Biſhop Nicholſon's Hiſtorical Library, Folio p. 263, 264.---Rapin's Hiſtory of England, V. 6. 8vo. p. 567, 568, 569.

(*u*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 361.

four Shillings, an Ounce; but added, alſo, two Ounces of baſe Metal in the Pound, inſtead of fifteen Penny-Weights, which raiſed it nine Pence, and a Half-Penny, in the Ounce. In the thirty-ſixth Year of his Reign, He proceeded to more pernicious Extremes, and coined Money that was but half Silver; and, although the Chronicles of that Æra inform us that, by this Method, He raiſed it to four Shillings an Ounce, He, in Fact, brought it up to eight Shillings. The laſt, and greateſt Injury to the Proſperity of Commerce aroſe in the following Year, by the Coinage of Money that had but four Ounces of Silver, in the Pound-Weight; ſo that Silver was, then, at twelve Shillings an Ounce; the Conſequence of which was that after his Death, the Silver fell to nine Pence, and next to Sixpence, the largeſt Sum for which the People would take it (*x*).

It appears that the greateſt Part of this Money was coined into Teſtoons, which (although not called Shillings), paſſed during his Reign, for twelve Pence. They are ſaid to have been of Braſs, covered with Silver; and Theſe were the Pieces that fell firſt to nine Pence, and afterwards to Sixpence. Having been found convenient to change, They were, in ſucceeding Times, coined at that Rate of good Silver; and from hence came the word Teſter. *Henry* likewiſe enhanced the Gold from forty-five, to forty-eight Shillings, an Ounce. In Excuſe for this innovation, it was alleged that He deſigned by it to prevent the Money from being carried abroad: an Expedient which could not, in any Manner, have anſwered the Purpoſe. Theſe illegal, and detrimental Methods of repleniſhing his Exchequer, were the Conſequence of his foreign Wars,

Sub-

(*x*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 361.

Subſidies, and boundleſs Prodigality. His Predeceſſors were above recurring to them, even in their ſevereſt Diſtreſſes (*y*).

The pernicious Effects of this Debaſement of the Coin were ſoon viſible in the Conduct of the common People, who, wanting Diſcernment, were incapable of aſcribing it to its proper Cauſe, and led from thence into a Variety of Errors, that naturally rendered Them deſirous of improper Meaſures, which They vainly hoped would act as Remedies. All Commodities became, on a ſudden, extravagantly dear. A Circumſtance which might reaſonably have been expected. It is not any Power of the Prince which can change the Nature, or even the Value of Things; neither will his Debaſement of the Coin ſink the Worth of the Proviſions, and Manufactures that are to be purchaſed with it.

We ſhall conclude this Subject with the Obſervations of a diſcerning Writer (*z*), whoſe Labours are the Ground-Work of our own.

Such Alterations in the Coin will, at firſt, introduce great Confuſion, which muſt unavoidably be detrimental to private Property: Yet, by Degrees, Men will be taught to oppoſe their Natural Rights to the regal Prerogative; and when They find Money of leſs Value than it ſhould be, They will inſiſt on having more. To this Cure in their private Dealings, They are directed by Experience; yet, as all Men are Buyers as well as Sellers, it is eaſy to perceive that, in ſuch a Situation of Things, a general Clamour will ariſe againſt the Dearneſs of neceſſary Commodities; and this may be attributed, as it then was, to falſe Cauſes; an Error which occaſioned the Application, not only of ineffectual,

(*y*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 361.
(*z*) Ibid.

fectual, but of injurious Remedies, aggravating the old, and being alſo productive of freſh Inconveniencies.

To this may be aſcribed the Complaints of ſeveral Hiſtorians of thoſe Times, and, likewiſe, many of the Laws that were founded on popular Conceit, and which, although enacted to give public Satisfaction, were repealed in ſucceeding Reigns, when They were felt as public Grievances. If (as the *Roman* Poet obſerves,) there be a pleaſure in viewing the Storms, and Tempeſts, whilſt We are ſafe, and beyond their Reach; there is, certainly, much greater Satisfaction in contemplating the political foul Weather of former Times, which We are not only exempted from feeling, and which (under the preſent Security of our happy Conſtitution) We, probably, ſhall never feel. This Satisfaction may ſtill be heightened by a rational Reflection on the Events of that Æra, the dangerous Miſtakes in Policy, and the falſe Lights in which They were examined by the Individuals whom They aggrieved.

The Privileges of making theſe Remarks, and clearly inveſtigating Subjects even of the niceſt Nature, is one of the greateſt Advantages which attends on Freedom. It were uncandid to imagine that, during the former Ages, the popular Opinion was not, with Regard to this Subject, directed by a Diſcernment equal to our own; but Mankind were under a fatal Neceſſity of concealing it, as Reaſons of State would have made that Conduct a Crime which was commendable in itſelf, but which, notwithſtanding, will be only commended, amidſt a free People. The Meaſures that We have expoſed, and cenſured, were Marks of the exceſſive Power of the Prince by whom They were embraced. In *his* Idea, it was, perhaps, ſufficient that They anſwered an immediate Purpoſe. To look farther

ther is not conſiſtent with the Temper of a Tyrant whoſe Ambition is inſatiable, and Power abſolute. They who live under leſs oppreſſive Sovereigns will diſcern, from theſe Hiſtories, the Danger to which a People muſt always be expoſed, who want the Safeguard of a legal Conſtitution. It is this, alone, which can prevent a Fellow-Creature, more exalted, and perhaps, leſs worthy than the Multitude, from ſtripping Them of the Privileges conferred, at firſt, by the All-Gracious POWER, *in whoſe Service there is perfect Freedom.*

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF

Sir EDWARD HOWARD,

LORD HIGH ADMIRAL of ENGLAND, and KNIGHT of the MOST NOBLE ORDER of the GARTER.

IF there be any Juſtice in the general Opinion that an illuſtrious Deſcent adds to the Reputation of great Atchievements, then, the Memory of this gallant Officer will appear doubly intitled to our Reſpect. He was the ſecond Son of the ancient Houſe of *Norfolk*, and inherited from his Father thoſe Qualities which moſt adorn the higheſt Rank; untainted Loyalty, and invincible Reſolution. It appears that He gratified, at an early Time of Life, his Inclination for the Sea-Service, having attended Sir *Edward Poynings*, on the Expedition, in the Year, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Ninety-two, when *Henry*, the Seventh, aſſiſted, with his Fleet, and a conſiderable military Force, the Duke of *Burgundy*, againſt his Subjects, the rebellious *Flemings* (*a*). At his Return, He was rewarded

(*a*) Hall, folio 17, 22, b.—— Polyd. Virg. p, 584.—— Lord Bacon's Hiſtory of Henry the Seventh. V. 2. p. 304, 305.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 365.—Firſt Volume of this Work, p. 385, 386.

warded with Knighthood, for his extraordinary Bravery, of which, during that long Reign, He gave frequent Inſtances, and ſo effectually eſtabliſhed his Reputation, that, on the Acceſſion of *Henry*, the Eighth, He was appointed to bear the royal Standard (*b*), an Office which, in that Æra, was conſidered not only as a Mark of particular Favour, but alſo, as a Teſtimony of the higheſt Confidence, and the greateſt Reſpect.

Henry, having formed, againſt the *French*, an Alliance with *Ferdinand*, King of *Arragon*, and *Naples*, prepared for War, early in the Year, one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Twelve. On this Occaſion, the Command of the Fleet was given to Sir *Edward Howard*, now Lord High Admiral of *England*. He was attended by his three Brothers, *John*, *Anthony*, and *Leonard*; the Lords *Brooke*, *Willoughby*, and *Ferrers*; the Baron of *Burford*; Sir *Richard Cornwall*, Sir *Maurice Berkley*, Sir *William Sandes*, and other naval Officers (*c*). As the Reader hath already been preſented with an Eſtimate of the Charge of the marine Forces, during the Reign of *Edward*, the Third (*d*), We ſhall, in this Place, enable Him to form an Idea of the Difference of the Allowance granted at the two Periods.

The King, by an Indenture, dated on the eighth of April, decreed to Sir *Edward Howard*, for his own Maintenance, Diet, Wages, and Rewards, ten Shillings, a Day. To Each of the Captains, for their Diet, Wages, and Rewards, eighteen Pence, a Day. To every Soldier, Mariner, and Gunner, five Shillings, a Month, for his Wages, and five Shillings for his

(*b*) Pat. I. Hen. VIII. p. 1. m. 24.
(*c*) Hall, folio 17.
(*d*) Vol. I. p. 246, 247.

his Victuals, reckoning twenty-eight Days in the Month (*e*).

On the ſixteenth of May, the military Forces, conſiſting of ten thouſand Men, and commanded by *Thomas de Gray*, Marquis of *Dorſet*, embarked in *Spaniſh* Ships; and being convoyed by the *Engliſh* Fleet, arrived, on the eighth of June, at *Paſſage*, in the Province of *Guipuſcoa*. Here, the Troops made a Deſcent, after which, the Lord Admiral ſtood out to Sea, for the Purpoſe of infeſting the Coaſts of *Brittanny*. At *Conquet*, and *Breſt*, He landed a Body of his Men, who plundered the Country, and reduced ſeveral of the Villages to Aſhes. Alarmed at theſe Ravages, and eager to prevent them, the King of *France* immediately equipped a powerful Armament, to oppoſe which *Henry* added a Squadron of twenty-five great Ships of War to the former Fleet, and went to *Portſmouth*, to review them. The Command of this Reinforcement was intruſted to the chief Perſons about Sir *Edward Howard*. In the *Regent*, the largeſt Ship, and of a thouſand Tons Burthen, was Sir *Thomas Knevet*, Admiral, and Maſter of the Horſe to the King: In the *Sovereign*, the next largeſt Ship, were Sir *Charles Brandon*, (afterwards Duke of *Suffolk*,) and under Him, as an Aſſiſtant, Sir *Henry Guildford*, with Sir *John Carew*, ſome young Courtiers, as Volunteers deſirous of ſignalizing their Valour, and ſixty of the ſtouteſt Yeomen of the Guard. The Deſign of the Lord High Admiral was to ſtation this Fleet, which, now amounted to forty-five Sail, on the Coaſts of *Brittanny*, in order to obſerve the Motions of the Enemy. On the tenth of Auguſt, they arrived at *Breſt*, from the Harbour of which a *French* Fleet conſiſting of thirty-nine Ships, under the Command of the Admiral

(*e*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 13. p. 27.

Primauget (*f*) immediately iſſued, and began an Engagement with the *Engliſh*. Shortly afterwards, the *Regent*, and the *Cordelier* being grappled together, accidentally took Fire, and blew up with all that were on Board (*g*). With Sir *Thomas Knevet*, who commanded the Former, periſhed ſeven hundred Men; and with *Primauget*, the Admiral of the Latter, nine hundred. The Ships of both Fleets remained for ſome Time, in Suſpence, as if attending ſolely to this terrible Calamity. At length, Thoſe belonging to the *French* made their Eſcape into different Harbours (*h*). During the Engagement, the Sovereign was, alſo, burned to the Water's Edge. In the Place of this Ship, the King conſtructed another of ſtill greater Burthen, and called it *Henry, Grace de Dieu* (*i*). In the Month of December, the Marquis of *Dorſet* returned to *England* with his Troops.

Not to incur the Charge of Partiality, We ſhall inſert a Relation of this Event, from the Writings of a *French* Hiſtorian (*k*), who differs, in ſome Particulars, from the Authors referred to in the Notes.

The *French* Fleet (He obſerves,) conſiſted but of half the Number of the *Engliſh*, who received ample Amends

(*f*) Or (according to Daniel, V. 2. p. 1901.) *Porſmauget*. Hence the *Engliſh* Seamen, and our old Chronicles, called him Sir *Pierce Morgan*.—Hall, folio 22. a.—Grafton, p. 970.

(*g*) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts.—Polyd. Virg. Lib. 27.—Stowe, p. 490.—Lanquet's Epitome of Chronicles, folio 273.

(*h*) Pat. IV. Hen. VIII. p. 2.—Hall, folio 21.—Holingſh, V. 2. p. 815. Herbert, p. 11.—Hiſtoire de la France, par P. Daniel, Tom. VII. p. 313.—Godwin's Annals, p. 10.—H. Velleii in Gaguini Appendix, p. 318, 319.—Dupleix, Tom. III. p 263.—Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 6. p. 422, 423.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 366, 367.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, Folio, V. 1. p. 93.

(*i*) Grafton, p. 970.—Stowe, p. 490.---Herbert, p. 11.

(*k*) P. Daniel.

Amends for this Inferiority by having gained the Advantage of the Wind. *Primauget*, an Officer of *Bretagne*, embarked in the *Cordelier*, a firſt Rate Man of War, which carried twelve Hundred Soldiers. Twelve Sail of *Engliſh*, amongſt which was the Admiral, called the *Queen* of *England*, (the *Regent*) ſurrounded Him. He fought with great Conduct, and Intrepidity; and ſunk ſome of the Ships belonging to the Enemy; and, as the Reſt began to bear away, was reſolved to chaſe the Admiral. He kept cloſe up to him, when another *Engliſh* Commander, into whoſe Veſſel He had poured a Broad-Side, diſcharged a large Quantity of Combuſtibles at the *Cordelier*, which ſet Fire to Her, in ſuch a Manner that there was no Hope of extinguiſhing it. The *Breton* Captain, reſolving not to periſh alone, made up to the *Engliſh* Admiral-Ship, and grappled with Her, until She, likewiſe, took Fire, and they blew up into the Air together. Soon afterwards, the two Fleets ſeparated, as it were, by Conſent. This Action redounded much to the Honour of the *French*, and the *Engliſh* came off with the Loſs of ſome Ships.

In April, of the Year one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Thirteen, *Henry*, preparing to invade *France*, levied a conſiderable Army, and equipped a formidable Fleet, conſiſting of forty-two Men of War, beſides ſmall Veſſels, the Command of which was given to the Lord High Admiral, Sir *Edward Howard*. Under Him, as Captains, and Aſſiſtants, were *Walter Devreux*, Lord *Ferrrars*, Sir *Wolſtan Browne*, Sir *Edward Ichyngham*, Sir *Anthony Poyntz*, Sir *John Wallop*, Sir *Thomas Wyndham*, Sir *Stephen Bull*, *William Fitz-William*, *Arthur Plantagenet*, *William Sidney*, Eſquires, and other Officers of Diſtinction. The King reſolving to conduct, in Perſon, the Operations of the next Campaign, in *France*, Sir *Edward* was directed to ſcour the Channel, for ſome Time, and, then, preſent Him-

ſelf before *Breſt*. On his Arrival off this Sea Port, He was informed that the *French* Fleet lay at Anchor within the Harbour, but in Readineſs to ſail, and waiting only for the Admiral *Pregent de Bidoux*, with ſix Gallies from the *Mediterranean*. Reſolving to attack the *French* before Theſe could join Them, He immediately entered the Harbour, with his whole Fleet. The Enemy for their Security had thrown up ſeveral Batteries on each Side of the Harbour, and the more effectually to ſcreen Themſelves from the Cannon of the *Engliſh*, had linked together twenty-four Hulkes, and ranged Them in a Line, at a proper Diſtance from their Ships. Theſe were, alſo, intended, on a nearer Approach of their Adverſaries, to be ſet on Fire, and turned adrift with the Tide. The Lord High-Admiral diſpatched towards the Shore, a Number of Boats, filled with armed Men, who were directed to make a Feint of Landing. Seduced by this Artifice, more than ten Thouſand of the *French* aſſembled near the Place, to which They imagined their Invaders were repairing. In the mean Time, Sir *Edward* advancing farther up the Harbour, diſembarked a Body of the Troops, oppoſite to *Breſt*, in the View of the Caſtle of which City, They ravaged, and ſet Fire to the Country. The Purſuit of theſe Succeſſes was, however, rendered impracticable by a Want of Proviſions, and Stores, of which the Lord High-Admiral was in daily Expectation.

Pregent was, now, arrived, with ſix Gallies, accompanied by four Foiſts, or Pinnaces. Obſerving that the *Engliſh* Fleet was lying within the Harbour, and being apprehenſive of an Attack from Them, He choſe to make the Bay of *Conquet*, which was the neareſt Place to *Breſt*, and in his Opinion, the moſt ſecure. He prudently ſtationed his Squadron between two Rocks, on both of which were Bulwarks well ſupplied with

with Cannon. Sir *Edward*, notwithſtanding the Advantages which *Pregent* obtained by being thus ſituated, was reſolved to hazard an Engagement. Having ſingled out the two Gallies from his Fleet, He went on Board of One, and intruſted the Other to the Conduct of the Lord *Ferrars*. He was followed by ſome Row-Barges, and Crayers, or ſmall Veſſels, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, Sir *John Wallop*, Sir *Henry Shirburn*, and Sir *William Sidney*. He no ſooner came a-breaſt of the Galley belonging to *Pregent*, than He ordered his own to be laſhed cloſe to Her, and immediately leaped on Board of Her, Sword in Hand, attended by one *Carroz*, a *Spaniſh* Cavalier, and ſeventeen *Engliſhmen*. Meanwhile, the Cable which faſtened his Galley to that of the Enemy being cut, Sir *Edward*, and his brave Aſſociates were left to the Mercy of the *French*, who preſſed upon Them with ſuch a Number of Pikes that, unable to reſiſt their ſuperiour Force, They were thruſt, without Diſtinction of Perſons into the Ocean. During this Conflict, the Lord *Ferrars*, with his Galley, and the ſmaller Veſſels, was engaged with the other Gallies, until, having waſted his Shot, without obtaining any Advantage, and perceiving that the Lord High Admiral's Galley fell off, He concluded that his Perſon was at leaſt in Safety, and, on that Account, retreated. On Inquiry, Sir *Edward* appeared to be miſſing; when a Flag of Truce, with Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, Sir *Richard Cornwall*, and Sir *John Wallop*, was ſent to *Pregent*, to demand what Priſoners He had made. They received for Anſwer, only one common Sailor, who had affirmed that the Lord High Admiral was amongſt the Perſons forced overboard. The whole *Engliſh* Fleet, now diſcouraged by the Loſs of their illuſtrious Commander, retired from before *Breſt*. Fluſhed with Succeſs, the *French* Navy quitted the Harbour, and even ventured to infeſt the

the Coaſt of *Suſſex*, from whence a Body of their Troops had the good Fortune to carry off a ſmall Booty, which (could We believe an elegant, and generally impartial Hiſtorian) (*l*) was *an Atteſtation of their Victory*. The Truth is, They were *repulſed*; and *Pregent* their Commander loſt an Eye, by the Shot of an Arrow (*m*).

On this Subject, a noble Author (*n*) hath tranſmitted to us ſome extraordinary Circumſtances. He obſerves that Sir *Edward Howard* having conſidered the Poſture of the *French* Fleet, in the Haven of *Breſt*, and the Conſequences which would attend either defeating, or burning it, gave Notice thereof to *Henry*, inviting Him to be preſent at ſo glorious an Action, and deſiring rather that his Sovereign, than Himſelf, ſhould gain the Honour of deſtroying the Naval Armaments of the Enemy. This was a loyal, and generous Propoſition, ſuppoſing the Fame, and not the Danger of the Action, too great for a Subject, and meaſuring the Courage of *Henry*, by his own; the ſole Standard which Men of his Rank, and Temper of Mind, ever uſe (*o*).

But the Council, to whom his Letter had been ſhewn, were of a different Opinion, and conceived that it was much too great a Hazard for *Henry* (whoſe Life

(*l*) "*Ils remporterent un Butin, qui atteſtoit leur Victoire.*"—Hiſtoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edouard III. &c. par Monſieur Gaillard, Tom. IV. p. 246.

(*m*) The Particulars of the Engagements are taken from Grafton, p. 971. Stowe p. 491.—Cooper, folio 275.—Hall, folio 22. b.—Herbert, p. 13.—Memoires du Bellay, Liv. 1.—Dupleix, Tom. III.—Rapin's Hiſtory of England, V. 6. 8vo. p. 76, 77—Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 4. 8vo. p. 430, 431.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 367, 368, 369.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, V. 1. Folio, p. 94, 95.

(*n*) Lord Herbert's Life, and Reign of Hen. VIII. A D. 1513.

(*o*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 369.

Life was, however, leſs valuable than that of the meaneſt Subject,) to expoſe his Perſon in ſuch an Enterprize; and, therefore, They wrote ſharply to the Lord High Admiral, commanding Him not to ſend Excuſes, but to perform his Duty. Such an Anſwer muſt have ſeverely afflicted a Man who aſſerted that a Naval Officer was good for Nothing, unleſs brave to a Degree of Madneſs. A celebrated Hiſtorian (*p*) obſerves that as the Sea-Service requires much leſs Plan, Capacity, and Contrivance than the Land, this Maxim hath great Plauſibility, and Appearance of Truth; although the Fate of Sir *Edward Howard* himſelf may ſerve as a Proof that even there Courage ought to be tempered with Diſcretion.

When He perceived his Galley ſlide away, and felt the Danger of his Stuation, He took his Chain of Nobles, which hung about his Neck, and his great gold Whiſtle, the Enſign of his Office, and threw Them into the Sea, to prevent the Enemy from poſſeſſing the Spoils of an *Engliſh* Admiral. Thus, on the twenty-fifth of April, in the Year, one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Thirteen, fell Sir *Edward Howard*, a Sacrifice to the nicer Feelings of a Man of Honour, and, perhaps, an equal Victim to Uneaſineſs.

In the Character of this Hero, We not only trace the brave Defender of his Country, but the accompliſhed Stateſman, the faithful Counſellor, and the free Speaker. Although ready on all Occaſions, to riſk his Life, and Fortune, in the Service of the People, He ſcorned to be an Advocate for Wars which proved at once diſgraceful, and injurious. He anxiouſly endeavoured to prevent the Rupture with the *Flemings*, as ſtriking at the Root of foreign Commerce; diminiſhing the Cuſtoms, whilſt it increaſed the public Expences; ſerving the *French*, by conſtraining the Inhabitants

(*p*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 4. p. 431.

bitants of *Flanders* to deal with Them, againſt their Inclinations; and tending to the Prejudice of the *Engliſh* Manufactures, by interrupting the Intercourſe with Thoſe who principally improved Them (*q*).

Thus qualified, it is not extraordinary that, even in the Flower of his Age, (at which Period He was cut off,) He ſhould have attained to ſuch exalted Honours. *Henry* gratified his Ardour, and Ambition with Titles; conſtituting Him Admiral of *England*, *Wales*, *Ireland*, *Normandy*, *Gaſcoigne*, and *Aquitain* for Life, and cauſing Him to be choſen Knight of the Order of the Garter. He died, before He could be informed that He had been honoured with it by his Sovereign (*r*), who ſincerely lamented his Loſs, and was condoled with in a Manner that reflects equal Credit on the Panegyriſt, and the Object of his Applauſe. The King of *Scotland*, in a Letter addreſſed to *Henry*, the Eighth, writes thus: "And ſurely, deareſt Brother! We think "more Loſs is to You of the late Admiral, who de- "ceaſed to his great Honour, than the Advantage "which might have been in winning all the *French* "Gallies (*s*) (*t*)."

(*q*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 141.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 370.

(*r*) Anſtis's Regiſter of the Garter, V. 2. p. 275.—Aſhmole's Order of the Garter, p. 713.

(*s*) Ibid.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 371.

(*t*) Sir Edward Howard married Alice, Widow to Sir William Parker, Knight, and Daughter to William Lovell, Lord Morley; by whom He had no Iſſue—Baronagium Angliæ, fol. 2, 17. MS. late in the Poſſeſſion of Mr. Campbell.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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